

SECURITY INFORMATION -- CONFIDENTIAL

**REASONS WHY PEOPLE
ACCEPT AND REJECT
COMMUNISM**

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
J. Edgar Hoover, Director

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INTRODUCTION

"Communists, I believe, are definitely convertible."
Douglas Hyde.

"Every Communist is a potential anti-Communist."
Louis Fischer.

The sole purpose of this study is to present material and ideas which will be helpful in developing Communists on a high level to cooperate with the Bureau and to furnish it with information of value. The approach used is both factual and interpretative.

The organization of this study has been constructed around four separate but related units of work.

Part I and Part II consist of condensed outlines of reasons why people accept and later reject Communism. These reasons, each one having a negative and a positive pole, are: Economic, Sociological, Historical, Scientific, Political, Psychological, Moral, Educational, Philosophical and Religious.

With this as background, Part III presents an analysis of the thinking of sixteen representative Communists and sets forth in their own words why they accepted and later rejected Communism. Part IV reveals the summary findings of this study which relate to the frequency of the reoccurrence of similar forces, events and ideas which motivated these people and caused them to act as they did.

Dorothy Day, one of the sixteen people considered here, has written: "After all, the experiences I have had are more or less universal..." If this statement is true, and it does seem to be, it has relevancy for every special agent endeavoring to develop Communists as sources of information. It means there is much to learn from the lives of former Communists and the forces, events and ideas which impelled them to act as they did. On piecing together the varied elements of their lives we see the outlines of a pattern of action, a configuration. We get a glimpse at the all-important problem of motivation.

We say "problem of motivation" because this is just what it is, a problem. Every agent is confronted with the problem of motivating John Doe, a top-level Communist, to break away from the Communist movement for the purpose of cooperating with the Bureau. Needless to say, the results to date in this field preclude any question or dispute as to the fact that it is a problem.

Why should John Doe, this top-level Communist, even listen to a Bureau agent, let alone desert the Communist movement to go over to the camp of the "enemy" and to assist the enemy? It is not unlikely that such a suggestion to the average top-level Communist by a Bureau agent is as preposterous as it would be to a Bureau agent if a top-level Communist approached this agent and asked him to disclose the confidential contents of the Bureau's secret files.

Why should the agent do this? Why should John Doe, the Communist, do the reverse?

Should John Doe do it for money per se? If money was the decisive motivating factor in his life, it is not likely he would today be a Communist, for he can make a more lucrative living by not being one. Did lust for power, desire of notoriety, racial discrimination, fondness for the unconventional, unnatural rebellion against authority or the compulsion of neuroses and complexes impel him to accept Communism? Or, was it his sincere conviction that Communism is valid and can be the most superior form of living for man?

Unless we can reach into the inner man and isolate and identify the wellsprings of his action, unless we first know what motivated him to become a Communist, it is not likely we will have much success in inducing that man to reject Communism and to co-operate with the Bureau.

Our first step then is to know the total man that we approach for the purpose of securing his services in combatting the very thing of which he is a part, and which is part of him. This step, of course, has been recognized and is the step that has already been taken.

Therefore, it is believed that this study may facilitate the taking of additional steps in the same direction. We believe

this to be so because, as Dorothy Day says, the experiences which people go through in becoming Communists and on ceasing to be Communists "are more or less universal." This means that the forces, events and ideas experienced by the sixteen Communists in this study, which induced them to accept that ideology, have also been experienced, in one form or the other, by the Communists we are attempting to develop as confidential informants. Knowing them will better enable us to know and study the total personality of these Communists we are concentrating on in connection with the Toplev Program.

We are cognizant of the need to be informed about these men from childhood to date (and childhood influences have been shown to be important influences in some instances). This information should enable us to arrive at tentative conclusions, at least, as to why these men became Communists. We will first have to know this kind of motivation before we can even think about motivating them to leave the Communist movement and cooperate with the FBI. Once, we know this motivation, then it can be studied, analyzed and evaluated and the results used as a foundation for learning about or knowing the second kind of motivation, the kind which will induce them to reject Communism. And, as is obvious, the nature of the latter and the expression it takes will be contingent upon

the nature of the former and the expression it has taken in past years.

Each Communist we approach, irrespective of the common, universal vein of experience flowing through them all, is a unique personality, an individual in his own right. Hence, each approach must be a unique approach, allowing for ever-present individual differences. It must be directed to him alone. We understand fully that standardized approaches will accomplish nothing.

We are all agreed that in general it is not at all desirable to attempt to argue a Communist out of Communism; or to show him how much more we know about Communism than he does; or to wave the arm of the law in his face; or to adroitly maneuver him into a compromising position, using it as a club to coerce him into line; or to flash money in his face, clearly inferring he is a contemptible rogue who can be bought, can be purchased to place a knife between the shoulder blades of his friends and comrades.

We are also agreed that in every Communist (or, in every human being for that matter) there is a key to his motivation and, if we find it, we may be able to unlock the forces which now bind him to Communism. It is likely this key in the Communist is an emotional one. The analysis of the sixteen former Communists in this study seems to bear that out. If this be so, our use of logic in talking to a Communist is of limited value. We must probe into the

emotional life of the Communist who confronts us. Also, we can supply material or information to which he can apply logic if he wishes to; but the application of logic must be his and not ours if it is to be effective. The key we must find is not of logic but of emotions.

Once this key is touched, the seeds of doubt about the validity of Communism can be sown. As the study of the sixteen former Communists indicates, the majority of them first had doubts, which gathered gradually, concerning the validity of Communism, before they embraced or returned to any other point of view. Therefore, our task seems to be one of subtly but sincerely setting the machinery into motion that will cause our top-level Communists to doubt the validity of Communism and the wisdom of their own position. As we are aware, it must be done in such a way that they are convinced they are doing their own thinking, not ours; wrestling with their own ideas and not ours; and arriving at their own conclusions, not ours.

After this has been done, the question of getting them to accept a democratic point of view, subsequent to which they may assist the Bureau, can be pursued more elaborately. However, if we cannot get beyond the first hurdle, the sowing of the seeds of doubt in their minds about Communism, it is not at all likely we will even come within sight of the second hurdle.

Granted that we succeed in sowing the seeds of doubt, there is still a second obstacle before us, a most practical one, well-delineated in the words of Charlotte Haldane:

"Let us consider for a moment the case of the professional Communist... who, by dint of terrific striving, self-abnegation, intrigue and suffering, has ceased to be a manual worker if he originally was one, who has become an executive, with an office, a secretary, or even a large staff to command. He is almost certainly also married, with a family to support and educate. He is a man who for years has known the intoxication of his own oratory and the applause it commands; he has additionally achieved a flattering degree of notoriety and personal publicity. Now suppose that he finds himself no longer in agreement with the Party Line, as dictated by Moscow; thinks it to be erroneous or dishonest. What does he do? Does he throw away the position he has during the best years of his life struggled for and achieved, or will he not cynically prefer to do violence to his private convictions, to what may remain of his spiritual integrity, rather than deviate one iota from what is expected of him by his political bosses in the Kremlin? Even if he had the courage to resist, what would be his future lot? To be outlawed by his former associates, to be branded 'traitor' and 'apostate,' to be shunned like a leper by the comrades and friends of a lifetime, and to be thrown without private financial means on the labour market, to compete with far younger men in a trade he has not practised for many years, and stigmatised by a political record."

If, then, we succeed in sowing doubts in his mind about Communism; if we do cause him to realize the falseness of the Party line (assuming he does not already realize it); we are

confronted with this situation just described. The fact which appears to be the most important one here is not necessarily related to finances and ways of making a living, important as they are, but rather to the more intangible considerations, -- a feeling of power, of importance, plus a reluctance to turn traitor and the fear of being publicly stigmatized and shunned by former friends, if eventually exposed, as he probably feels he would be as a traitor, "stool pigeon," etc., etc.

If we succeed, however, in overcoming both these obstacles, his belief in Communism and his reluctance to reject it for reasons given by Charlotte Haldane, there is still a third obstacle, a bond to be broken: that nebulous but strong bond binding every person to all which has been encompassed by his past experiences, in particular to those in which he has been totally involved emotionally. The breaking of the bond causes a real crisis in that person's life.

The break with Communism reduced Richard Wright to a form of irrationalism as he emoted: "I lay in bed that night and said to myself: 'I'll be for them, even though they are not for me.'" Arthur Koestler lamented, as he departed from Communism, that it was an illusion, concluding: "The addiction to the Soviet myth is as tenacious and difficult to cure as any other addiction." Ignazio Silone wrote: "The truth is this:

"the day I left the Communist Party was a very sad one for me, it was like a day of deep mourning, the mourning for my lost youth...It is not easy to free oneself from an experience as intense as that of the underground organization of the Communist Party." Elizabeth Bentley expressed similar feelings: "As I descended the hill again, my problem would come back to haunt me in full force. My faith in my old Communist ideals was gone now; even the embers were growing cold. And yet I thought wistfully, I shall never feel like that again--never again will I be able to think and feel and live with such intensity and passion. Part of me has been left behind in those ten years; I shall never again be a whole person." Hede Massing experienced the same reaction: "The step to renounce the brotherhood of men that believed they are working for a better life for all, to divorce yourself from the pioneering of mankind, from the fighters for a great cause, is very difficult. To leave the warmth, the safety and friendship that have been given you is a tragedy. You have been imbued with the Communist spirit to such an extent that for a long time you see yourself as a traitor, as do the comrades you have left. How you dislike yourself! You go into loneliness, you hide. Slowly you recover, as from an illness...You shrink because you do not want to expose the friends you have loved. Each one

"of the former Communists has gone through this development."

Charlotte Haldane expresses this same experience more graphically perhaps than any of the others. She declares, on resolving to reject Communism:

"There did remain, however, an emotion, or rather a complex of emotions, to be disentangled later, and action to be taken. I had a deep and strong sense of guilt. I felt a traitor to the cause, especially to those comrades and of them particularly the dead, with whom I had shared my previous loyalties, during the war in Spain. To feel disloyal, especially to the dead, to whom one cannot put one's case, nor explain one's impulsions or conclusions, is a peculiarly unpleasant experience. 'The old school tie,' whether it be black striped with pale blue, or bright red, is a symbol of immensely powerful compulsion. To repudiate it is an act, not of faith, but of will, demanding the strongest effort of which one may be capable. It is a kind of death which may or may not be followed by a resurrection."

It is also of interest to observe that a number of these former Communists, although they had been entertaining doubts about the validity of Communism for a long time (some over a period of years), could not muster the necessary will power which would enable them to act and to break with Communism because of their intense emotional involvement. With some it took a powerful event to give them sufficient courage or resolve or determination. With Louis Fischer it was the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August 23, 1939, (he called it his "Kronstadt"); with Charlotte Haldane it was standing beside the coffin of a young Russian child who had died of starvation and

witnessing the anguish of the young mother; with Freda Utley it was the arrest of her husband in Russia whom she never saw again; with Douglas Hyde it was the arrogant Communist order to reverse overnight his entire policy and to campaign against the Marshall Plan and for lower production in England rather than greater production for which he had been working. And so it was with others: the reasons for their rejecting Communism were often many, varied, obscure and complex, and some broke on the basis of them, while others possessing the same or related reasons required an occasion, an overt event around which their reasons of the head and heart could crystallize and give them the strength to turn away from Communism completely and permanently.

These experiences, cited above, were intensely felt and vividly expressed. There is impressive evidence which indicates that all sincere Communists of any intelligence or ability go through the same experiences to a greater or lesser degree, even though they may not have the power to express them so forcefully. This means that the top-level Communists (who surely must, in the main, be persons of some intelligence and ability, regardless of the extent of their formal education), whom we are attempting to develop as informants, must go through those very

same experiences, in fact, must be carried through, in a sense, by us. We initiate the action, we guide it, we conclude it.

To repeat for the sake of emphasis, we need to know the whole man with whom we deal. We need to keep in mind that "man lives by bread, but not by bread alone." Therefore, as we all realize, waving money in front of the fact of a true Communist, appealing otherwise to his acquisitive instincts, or holding forth the possibility of physical ease, comfort and pleasure will likely be very ineffective. As Ignazio Silone so wisely observed: "Anyone who thinks he can wean the best and most serious-minded young people away from Communism by enticing them into a well-warmed hall to play billiards, starts from an extremely limited and unintelligent conception of mankind."

While not neglecting the material where pertinent, we must go far beyond the material and reach the Communist on the immaterial plane. As previously indicated we must locate the key to his motivation. It means moving in the orbit of ideas, intuitions, instincts and emotions. Finally, it means conversion (for that is the objective), the conversion in each case of a top-level Communist from the set of ideas he now embraces to a different set of ideas. It may well be a slow, arduous, complicated, delicate process, not alone to Bureau agents but to the

top-level Communists also. For the agent, it will be the act of converting to the desired point of view; for the Communist it will be conversion itself, and as the former Communist Dorothy Day has aptly stated: "A conversion is a lonely experience. We do not know what is going on in the depths of the heart and soul of another."

This is what confronts every special agent who works on the Toplev Program or is otherwise engaged in making informants out of active, sincere, convinced Communist party members. The difficulties are so many as to need no enumeration here. But multiple difficulties do not make one doubt. And, in the light of the experiences of former Communists, there is no reason to doubt that informants cannot be made on high levels in the Communist Party; on the contrary, there is every reason to believe they can be made. Douglas Hyde and Louis Fischer, both former devotees of Communism, know whereof they speak:

"Communists, I believe, are definitely convertible."

"Every Communist is a potential anti-Communist."

PART I

REASONS WHY PEOPLE

ACCEPT COMMUNISM

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In presenting the reasons (as working hypotheses) why people accept Communism there is taken into consideration what appears to be both a negative and a positive aspect involved in every basic reason. By this is meant, one man may have embraced Communism because of a negative aspect of an economic reason, for example, he may have lacked the necessities of life himself, hence he reacted from the present economic system, blaming it for his predicament. He is primarily against something. The motive force here is economic but negative. He seeks to destroy. Another man may possess all the necessities of life but as a theorist and academician he concludes that a new and more adequate economic system is desirable and he proposes the Communist economic system as a

*

By Communism we mean adherence to a philosophy of life, a way of thinking, a systematic set of principles (irrespective of how incompletely they may be understood) and not open membership in an organization. By a Communist philosophy of life we mean that formulated by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin and propounded by countless organizations throughout the world expressing the orthodox Communist position crystallized in Soviet Russia. Further, acceptance of Communism as used here involves submission, open or concealed, to organizational discipline in the majority of the examples.

means of improving society. He is primarily for something. He seeks to build. Here the approach is positive, erroneous though it may be. The motivation is linked not so much to a desire to be against something and to tear down that which is old, as it is to be for something and to construct that which is new.

In the light of the above considerations, each basic reason set forth here will be broken into its negative and positive aspects.

It is to be noted also that in some instances one basic reason has been sufficient for a person to accept Communism. In other instances one or more reasons or a combination or portions of several were necessary.

I. People Accept Communism Because Of ECONOMIC Reasons

Negative Aspect

A. Case studies of people who accepted Communism in the depression of the 1930's reflect that a lack of sufficient necessities of life - food, clothing and shelter - did impel some in this direction. They reacted from the prevailing economic system. Unemployment prevailed.

1. This lack existed in varying degrees.

B. The first fact was a lack of what they needed to fulfill the principal law of life - self-preservation. The second fact was the glowing and plausible promises of economic plenty

dangled before them by Communist agitators and propagandists. The third fact was that quality in all human beings which causes a drowning man to grasp at a straw.

C. The combining of these three facts is sufficient to create a reason - an economic reason - for accepting Communism:

1. There was nothing to lose;
2. There was a possibility of gaining.

D. This economic reason in its negative aspect has been more common among the uneducated laborers:

1. The poor whites of the slum areas of large cities and of the share-cropper areas of the agricultural south;
2. The Negroes, especially in the north in such centers as Detroit, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia;
3. The Mexicans of the southwest;
4. The Puerto Ricans in New York and in Puerto Rico.

Positive Aspect

E. People who have accepted Communism because of the positive aspect of the economic reason are generally of three kinds:

1. Those of an academic and theoretical mentality prone to outline on paper economic plans, programs and systems believed to be superior to any now in existence;
2. Those of an engineering and activist mentality attracted by the possibility of building and constructing something new and better in the economic order;

3. Those of a social-uplift mentality impelled to expend efforts to lift humanity to higher material levels through the use of different new economic forms conceived of as being instruments, the use of which produces the desired results.

F. These three groups of people are moved by the positive approach and put the accent on building rather than on tearing down.

1. Communism attracts them because they see in its economic doctrine the raw ideological materials for creating more perfect economic relations, for building better institutions and for elevating humanity to higher levels.

2. Their attitude is inclined to be more detached because they have not been emotionally involved as a result of suffering from the lack of the necessities of life.

3. Their view is apt to be of a long-range nature rather than short-range. They tend to be for something that will be complete in the future rather than for something which is fragmentary gain in the present. They work toward the big goals of tomorrow rather than grappling with small issues of today.

G. This economic reason in its positive aspect has been more common among the educated:

1. Economists;

2. Political scientists;

3. Engineers;

4. Certain literary figures.

II. People Accept Communism Because Of SOCIOLOGICAL Reasons Related To Social Injustices Which They Have Either Experienced Directly Themselves Or Out Of Sympathy With Those Who Have Had Such Experiences, Although They Themselves Have Had None.

Negative Aspect

- A. Case studies reflect that people accept Communism because they have reacted against social injustices, having experienced directly:
 1. Racial discrimination;
 2. Color discrimination;
 3. Peonage and involuntary servitude;
 4. Arrests during labor strikes and maltreatment thereafter;
 5. Blacklisting because of labor union activities;
 6. Inadequate wages from industries making substantial profits;
 7. Undue interference with freedom of speech and the right to assemble, in racial and labor controversies;
 8. Undue curtailment of the written word on unpopular issues;
 9. False accusations leading to loss of employment and subsequent suffering to the family;
 10. Dishonest business practices (e.g., exorbitant interest rates and mortgage foreclosures) leading to loss of home;
 11. Industrial spying and "frame-up" by employer;

12. Excessive fines levied in labor disputes as a result of court prejudice in favor of employer;
13. Inequities of mill town conditions where industrialists not only own the business where the laborer works but also the house in which he lives and all the stores from which he buys his commodities, hence have a monopoly over all the necessities of existence plus control over the entire social life of the employee;
14. Strict application of the law to the poor and uninfluential and loose application of the law in some instances to the wealthy and influential.

B. As previously indicated, people who have not experienced directly the above social injustices sympathized with those who have; hence, they too reacted negatively subsequently developing a related motive for embracing Communism in the spirit of protest.

C. The sociological reason in its negative aspect has been more common among races discriminated against and among skilled, organized laborers:

1. Negroes;
2. Some members of the yellow race;
3. Mexicans;
4. Shoe factory employees;
5. Miners;
6. Steel workers;
7. Automobile employees;
8. Marine employees;
9. Transport employees;
10. Mill employees;
11. Shipbuilders, etc.

Positive Aspect

D. People have accepted Communism because they have more than an ordinary interest in establishing higher and more extensive forms of social justice, believing erroneously that Communism can be the most effective vehicle for conveying society toward this end.

1. These people wish to establish:

- racial and color equality;
- same rights for all;
- the same opportunities for all, etc.

E. Communism purports to be working toward such objectives by rearranging sociological conditions; hence, its ostensible social pattern is almost identical with that of those people who first start out by simply being in favor of social justice and end by embracing Communism, having mistakenly equated social justice with Communism.

1. This equation is facilitated by the Communist theoretical stress on:

- cooperation for common social goals;
- production for social consumption and not for individual profits;
- taking from each according to his ability and giving to each according to his needs, etc.

F. The accent here, therefore, is a positive sociological one, the establishment of social justice.

G. The sociological reason in its positive aspect has been more common among the educated:

- Sociologists;
- Social workers;

3. Doctors;
4. Lawyers;
5. Clergymen;
6. Professors;
7. School teachers;
8. Writers, etc.

III. People Accept Communism Because Of HISTORICAL Reasons

Negative Aspect

- A. History is marked by ceaseless struggle, tension, turmoil and strife.
 1. "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."
- B. History has failed, as far as some people are concerned, to produce an adequate civilization, one that is stable, just, peaceful, permanent and sufficiently productive for all.
 1. Hence, disillusionment with all civilizations of the past and present;
 2. Hence, a desire to break completely with the past and present, to react against both and to recommend destruction of that which has been and is.
- C. Communism does condemn also civilizations of the past and present (admitting that while some served a purpose at a specific stage in historical development, they are now obsolete and inadequate); Communism does recommend a radical break with tradition and the ultimate total destruction of that which has been and is.
 1. Therefore, the negativistic attitude of Communism blends neatly with the negativistic attitude of people sharing this same general view of history.
 - a. A limited common ground prevails.

Positive Aspect

D. Although history has reflected failure on the part of the human race for these people they do not despair of the future.

1. Hope springs eternally in the human breast; hence, they look to the future with hope. Historically, they are pessimists. As futurists they are optimists. Yesterday was bad. Tomorrow will be good. Today is the neutral transitional stage between the two.

E. Reasons for this hope of great things in the future are related to this world, the material world, and to man as the representative of the apex of the evolutionary process, who is gaining greater and greater control and mastery over his environment.

1. Increasing control over environment leads to the belief in progress for the future such as was undreamed of in the past.

a. Manipulation of the environment will produce a better kind of man and a vastly improved civilization.

F. At this point the environmentalists and the Communists move toward each other.

1. For Communists are a type of environmentalist also. They believe:

a. Change the environment (e.g., through modes of production) and you will change man;

b. Changing man will in turn further change his environment, his institutions -- an interaction takes place;

c. This dual process (e.g., environment molding man and the converse) will produce both a new type of man and a new type of civilization.

G. Here environmentalism and Communism broaden their common ground first established through their view of history.

1. While possibly differing on many points they hold, nevertheless, a basic point in common - the belief in the great impact of environment upon man and the relative perfectibility of both;
2. It is this point that enables them to understand each other to some extent at least;
3. It is this point which causes Communism to attract like a magnet the mind that thinks of the past and the future in terms of environmental elements, leading toward universal progress.

H. This historical reason in both its negative and positive aspects has been common only among educated people:

1. Historians;
2. Sociologists;
3. Anthropologists;
4. Psychologists;
5. Economists, etc.

IV. People Accept Communism Because Of SCIENTIFIC Reasons

Negative Aspect

A. Some scientists conceive the universe and man in purely materialistic terms.

1. The universe is accounted for upon the basis of eternal flux and fortuity. This is "nature."
 - a. Motion and matter constantly changing form is the essence.

2. Man is described as being nothing more than a material being continuous with nature. "Man is what he eats."

- There is nothing outside, above or beyond nature.
- Nature originates itself, controls, maintains and perpetuates itself.
- All is, therefore, nature in a state of eternal change, endless ebb and flow.

3. Ultimately both the universe and man will disappear, leaving not a trace of their existence behind them.

B. Communism presents essentially the same view of the universe and man.

Positive Aspect

C. Up to the point where disintegration sets in on a universal scale there can be progress.

- This progress must be scientific progress, for there is no other kind.
- Scientific progress is contingent upon the scientific method as an instrument of scientific knowledge, the only kind of knowledge which will benefit the human race.

D. The scientific method (e.g., induction - observation, experimentation, analysis, formulation of hypotheses, etc.) is the only acceptable method for securing reliable scientific knowledge of the universe and life.

- There is no sphere of life to which it cannot be accurately applied.
 - It reaches into the heart of the earth; it reaches into the heart of man.

- b. Matter and mind, the visible and the invisible alike are encompassed by its forceps; nothing escapes the test tube, the crucible, the yardstick and the scales.
- E. Science, therefore, theoretical and applied, is the concrete basis and instrument of a "brave new world."
 - 1. It will be brave for man will no longer look outside himself for his salvation.
 - 2. It will be new because the non-scientific past will be discarded and ceaseless change will keep it new.
 - 3. It will be a world - this world - the one of the senses - for there will be no other.
- F. Physics, chemistry, biology, anthropology, physiology, bacteriology, mathematics, etc., will provide the knowledge for the physical transformation.
- G. Psychology, psychiatry, etc., will provide the knowledge for the social transformation.
- H. There will be a total science of a total society and science will be a panacea for all human defects - individual and social.
 - 1. This total science will produce a new and superior total society.
- I. Communism, from its own unique perspective, says practically the same thing.
 - 1. It claims to be already a total science of society, the "science" of Marxism-Leninism.
 - 2. It claims that this total science:
 - a. Accepts man as a purely material entity continuous with nature;
 - b. Embraces all human knowledge as a whole;

- c. It is aware of all essential scientific laws governing both the physical order and the social order.
- d. It is now, in cooperation with the laws of economic necessity, working toward the creation of a new and more perfect world society.
- 3. Therefore, once again, from the positive aspect this time, there is an expansion of the common ground existing between scientific materialism as described and Communism.
 - a. The step from the former to the latter is not too great, a fact demonstrated by those who have made it in the recent past.
- 4. This scientific reason in both its negative and positive aspects has been common only among educated people:
 - 1. Physicists;
 - 2. Mathematicians;
 - 3. Chemists;
 - 4. Physiologists;
 - 5. Zoologists;
 - 6. Botanists;
 - 7. Chemists;
 - 8. Bacteriologists;
 - 9. Pathologists;

* An increasing number of scientists, however, have and are rejecting this materialistic viewpoint, for example, du Noüy, Jeans, Eddington, Bergson, Morrison, Millikan, Carrel, Hess, Wilson, Zimmerman, Kleinschmidt, Stromberg, the Compton brothers and others of international fame in the field of science.

10. Anthropologists;
11. Entomologists;
12. Psychologists;
13. Psychiatrists;
14. Psychoanalysts, etc.*

V. People Accept Communism Because Of POLITICAL Reasons

Negative Aspect

- A. Some people grow disillusioned with current political forms of organization.
 1. This stems in part from the once held conviction that when the masses of people were given the right to vote society would perfect itself; that universal suffrage is the panacea.
 2. Political democracy was to some the magic formula which would dispel all human evils.
 - a. Political democracy, faced with the stubborn facts of human nature, has not done this; hence, they turn elsewhere for the solution.
- B. Dissatisfaction with both the Republican and Democratic Parties in the United States is prevalent among this group.
- C. Corruption on the part of public office holders and government officials is deplored by these politically disillusioned people.

*It is to be noted, however, that psychiatry and psychoanalysis, even when materialistic, must be revamped and made to conform to Marxism-Leninism or it is not acceptable to Communists.

D. High taxes are related to corruption by them.

E. Political intolerance directed against minority groups and their relative exclusion from the political mainstream of American social life are especially disturbing to these people. For example, the political discrimination and exclusion of:

1. Negroes;
2. Jews;
3. Puerto Ricans;
4. Mexicans;
5. Chinese;
6. Japanese.

F. Intense opposition to nazism, foreign fascism and native fascism is manifested by these people. For example, they were and are against:

1. Hitler and his followers;
2. Mussolini and his followers;
3. The Ku Klux Klan, Silver Shirts, Columbians, etc.

G. They are critical of nationalism,

1. Preferring an international or a world federal government.

H. They are critical of the state per se in some instances,

1. Believing it to be a "necessary evil."

Positive Aspect

I. Communism pretends to be able to give such politically disillusioned people much more than a political democracy; in short, it promises a political, economic, social, educational and cultural democracy -- a total democracy.

J. It is for a third-party movement to break the two-party system in the United States under the pretext of greater democracy.

K. It pretends to be for honest government and political tolerance in furtherance of greater democracy.

- L. It was (after Germany invaded Russia in 1941) for the defeat of nazism and fascism abroad and its curtailment in this country in the interest of greater widespread "democracy" and "peace."
- M. It is for internationalism and "one world," ultimately leading to a stateless world society.
- N. It provides a vehicle for political opportunism, giving unscrupulous people seeking national and international political power an ideology and an organizational framework within which to work, and one that can be used as an instrument to propel them toward their desired ends.
 - 1. It provides this vehicle in the name of political "maturity."
- O. This political reason in both its negative and positive aspects has been common among a variety of types, educated and uneducated, rich and poor ("Man is a political animal").
 - 1. Minority groups (various occupations and professions);
 - 2. Middle class (various occupations and professions);
 - 3. Skilled and unskilled laborers.

VI. People Accept Communism Because Of PSYCHOLOGICAL Reasons

Negative Aspect

- A. A chronic feeling of dissatisfaction or discontent with what is, with the status quo, afflicts not a few people.
 - 1. They have a vague, restless will to be against what prevails without actually knowing what to be for.
- B. Frustration prevails among others due to failure to reach objectives, secure coveted objects, or command the desired social prestige required by their ego.

1. It may be individual frustration.
2. It may be group frustration.
 - a. These have accounted for both rich and poor, educated and uneducated, being attracted to Communism.
 - b. Communism provides a form of release from such frustration.
- C. Concealed resentment against the economically prosperous, the politically effective, the morally good, coupled with a desire to reduce all people through Communism to a common denominator undistinguishable from themselves, is a motivating force.
- D. Reaction against normal social life, resulting in expressed preference for the life of a Communist Party member which is outside the social norm, accounts for some being propelled toward Communism.
- E. Youthful rebellion against rigidly authoritarian parents has resulted also in a rebellion against the authority of society, culminating paradoxically in an almost unconscious acceptance of the authoritarianism of Communism, assumed to be the very antithesis of that which was rejected.
- F. Desire to engage in negative exhibitionism (e.g., parades, picketing, arrests, marches, court trials, committee hearings, etc.), ways and means of which are regularly provided by Communism, is still another psychological reason for its acceptance.
- G. Desire to be different and to stand apart from the majority or from one's own group in an unusual way, even though this difference is contrary to accepted social standards and is unpopular, is a factor:
 1. A wealthy man accepting the viewpoint of the group in which he was born is relatively anonymous because of the prevailing "sameness";
 2. This man, on breaking radically with his group to embrace Communism, ceases to be the same

as the others; he ceases to be anonymous when he becomes different. This sharp break satisfies an emotional craving to be different, to be noticeable and talked about.

H. The acute consciousness of a sense of guilt is a consideration:

1. A feeling of guilt for having been born wealthy, of having never done anything to earn this wealth;
2. A feeling of guilt for not having ever actually worked at all;
3. A feeling of guilt for never having done anything constructive in life.
 - a. With these types attempts to compensate for their "guilt feelings" are made by embracing Communism, under the assumption that it represents the poor and downtrodden and is attempting to assist them. If Communism is not fully embraced, then funds are contributed to the Party under the assumption that this is a "constructive" thing to do. (A Party "angel" is born.)

I. Sheer boredom and ennui impel others in the direction of Communism.

1. Liquor, sex, travel, parties have all been indulged in to the saturation point:
 - a. They do not satisfy -- they finally become matter-of-fact and boring;
 - b. All sense pleasures have been tried and found wanting;
 - c. The mind turns elsewhere for release from boredom;
 - d. Communism is seized upon by this type of neurotic mind as a unique experience

and an escape from boredom, as a substitute for that which once thrilled and pleased the earthy appetites in passing but does no longer.

J. Opportunities to satisfy the burning desire to dominate, be bossy and order others around cause some to look toward Communism.

1. The intellectual who was unable to dominate in his own academic circle is able to do so in some local, state, or even national Communist circles;
2. The wealthy man who may be one among many in the world at large finds it difficult to dominate others in this social area in the manner demanded by his ego. In certain Communist circles, even when he remains concealed, he exerts a personal power over others, not possible to him elsewhere.

K. Escapism: The need to escape from some complex or neurosis hastens the afflicted toward Communism.

1. Communism for these people meets this need by immersing them completely in the ceaseless activity of the Party.
 - a. The Party from that time on occupies their whole time, energy and self, thereby freeing all somewhat from the mental pain of complexes and neuroses. Action has therapeutic value.
2. The unwillingness to make one's own decisions, the desire to escape from the effort required to make important decisions, is satisfied by fleeing to Communism where all the crucial decisions are made for one.
 - a. Further, there is a transfer of responsibility for the consequences of such decisions from oneself to the Party.

3. The need to escape from the responsibility of self-leadership, from a self-governing status to one where the person can follow a leader (e.g., man or organization) and be led and governed from without instead of from within, is a need which Communism fills.
 - a. Apropos of this point is the tremendous and abnormal "leadership" value being attached to Joseph Stalin today: a development being accepted by convinced Communists throughout the world. He is described as being no mere man but a superman.
- L. The feeling of rejection paves a road in the direction of Communism.
 1. A belief that one has been personally snubbed and rejected by one's own nation and society creates a need to be recognized elsewhere.
 2. The belief that one is rejected is followed by a feeling of isolation, fear, loneliness, weakness, of being unwanted.
 3. The person gravitates toward the Communist Party which is also snubbed, unwanted and rejected by American society. Likes attract, common misery binds.
 4. The person is accepted by the Party and recovers some interior strength; isolation and loneliness is broken down. The person is now wanted.
 5. The person then goes beyond the Party to support Soviet Russia and all it represents. Soviet Russia accepts him. The person recovers evermore strength, confidence and hope for the future by being associated and identified with a "powerful" nation "destined" to reign supreme in world affairs. The person's "littleness" becomes "greatness" by association, distant and remote in the future though it may be.

Positive Aspect

- M. People have a normal desire to serve in a positive manner some great cause.
 - 1. Communism is always presented as being a "great cause."
 - 2. Some mistakenly accept this deceptive presentation and thereby give a normal and positive desire an invalid expression.
- N. People have a normal desire to sacrifice themselves for a great cause in which they actually believe and believe deeply.
 - 1. Communism offers countless opportunities of self-sacrifice to such a person which were not available to him in the life he had been experiencing.
- O. People have a normal desire to associate with others and to work together in groups toward common goals.
 - 1. Communism offers countless ways of satisfying this normal and positive desire.
- P. People have a normal desire to "be somebody," to feel that they are important to something or to someone, that somehow in the scheme of things they do "count."
 - 1. Communism offers countless ways of satisfying this normal and positive desire.
 - a. Every person is given something to do. He participates. He becomes involved emotionally. He gives himself. He has an important function to perform. He "counts." He "belongs."
- Q. Communism is an irresistible magnet for men possessed by the will to power, the lust for power.
 - 1. This burning desire for power is universally recognized as a common weakness of man.

- a. He seeks personal power;
- b. He seeks economic power;
- c. He seeks political power;
- d. He seeks educational power;
- e. He seeks social power.

2. Communism offers countless opportunities to the man lustng for power.

- a. Communism being a total philosophy, a total way of life (e.g., totalitarian), it must necessarily command total power over the bodies, minds and lives of human beings and the geographical areas in which they reside.
- b. Communism provides tactics and strategy, the mechanics for securing and maintaining total power over both man and nations on an international scale.
- c. Therefore, Communism contains greater appeal for and offers much more to the man craving and lustng for power than any other system. Its very psychology is a positive power psychology.

R. Communism uses a positive, multiple psychological approach, appealing in an affirmative fashion to all the many and varied psychological facets of the human being.

- 1. If a man is patriotic Communism does not condemn his patriotism. It adroitly offers him what is called a "greater and higher form" of patriotism-- patriotism linked to a world society and not just to one nation.
- 2. If a man is loyal to his own government, Communism does not condemn this loyalty per se;

rather it offers him a "greater and higher form" of loyalty -- loyalty to all humanity -- to the entire human race, instead of an anemic loyalty, narrowly restricted to just one government.*

3. If a man is found to be both intensely capitalistic and intensely prejudiced against the United States Government (possibly say in a Puerto Rican), Communism does not condemn in the initial stage any of his attachments; rather it ignores the capitalistic issue while at the same time skillfully approving and fostering his prejudice against the United States, recommending that his energies should be directed toward securing independence for Puerto Rico, an objective useful to Communism.
4. If a man is religious, Communism will not openly offend him by attacking his religion. On the contrary, it will offer him a "higher" and a more concrete form of worship -- the worship of man as man; a suggestion flattering to man's own ego, and not infrequently culminating in man worshipping his own ego as being the most supreme object of worship possible.
5. If a man propounds his belief in a democratic way of life, Communism does not criticize either the man or democracy. On the contrary, it applauds and encourages the man, while at the same time offering him a way of life "a thousand times more democratic" than the one he now experiences.
6. If a man pleads for the improvement of society, Communism does not belittle this plea; instead it extols the man for making the plea and urges him to redouble his efforts, offering him the only "effective" and "successful" instruments and methods for the improvement of society -- those of Communism.

* These first two examples have held some appeal for some scientists and social theorists.

** This is true only in non-Communist nations where an effort must be made to persuade, rather than a command given to obey as in Communist nations.

7. If a man advocates greater and more rapid progress for mankind, Communism opposes not this advocacy; rather it nods in approval, offering that man ways and means for producing immediate and ceaseless progress of mankind.
8. If a man proclaims there must be peace in our time, Communism agrees with enthusiasm and offers him a world plan for peace for all time.
9. If a man recommends the unified organization of all skilled laborers in the United States, Communism does not oppose him; rather it hails this man in grandiloquent style as a real progressive and recommends itself the unified organization of all laborers in the United States, both the skilled and unskilled, offering at the same time ways and means of gaining this end.
10. When a man proclaims freedom of thought, speech, press and action in the United States, Communism does not oppose or remain silent; rather it agrees and loudly applauds, urging more and more freedom of every kind, freedom which it can use cunningly one day to destroy freedom.
11. When a man proclaims civil rights, Communism does not ignore him; instead it urges the extension of civil rights and their protection, rights which it can use cunningly one day to destroy all rights.
12. When a man appeals to the American people to do more intelligent and independent thinking, Communism does not oppose this appeal; on the contrary, it supports this appeal, urging that intelligent and independent thinking be extended to the point where the "thought-stifling," "sterile," and "moronic" two-party system in the United States can be broken up and a third party sent to the White House, a development which Communism intends to use in its own behalf.

S. The appeal of Communism, then, as seen from the above examples, is not simply a negative appeal; for not infrequently it is a clever, varied, flexible and positive psychological appeal. It affirms more than it denies.

1. Every facet of the human being's psychological structure is to be tapped.
 - a. The examples given above are only a very few of the many which could be given, and all of them would be marked by a positive accent.
- T. The psychological reason, in both its negative and positive aspects, has been common among all types of people -- educated and uneducated, rich and poor, married and single, young and old.
- I. Likewise, it reaches into all occupations and professions.

VII. People Accept Communism Because of MORAL Reasons

Negative Aspect

- A. The acceptance of traditional morality, as it has grown out of the Judaic-Christian tradition, carries with it responsibility for one's behavior.
 1. First, the existence of moral law is recognized. Second, the normal man is considered to be a free moral agent capable, within his limitations, of knowing this moral law and abiding by it or breaking it as he so chooses to do.
 2. Violation of the moral law (as reflected in the Judaic-Christian tradition by the Ten Commandments, Sermon on The Mount, etc.) involves the fact of sin (e.g., moral transgression) and a sense of sin.

- a. This sin has serious personal and social consequences; hence, it requires the forgiveness of the created by the Creator.
- B. Not a few people have today rejected this traditional morality and for different reasons. For example:
 - 1. Loss of theological faith, on which morality rests and apart from which it has no efficacy, leads to rejection of the system of morality itself.
 - a. First the creed is abandoned and next the code is discarded.
 - b. On other occasions it may be the reverse; inability to keep the code leads to a desire to denounce and renounce the creed.
 - 2. The unwillingness to accept personal responsibility for one's behavior propels one toward this same abyss.
 - 3. Resentment against being judged by moral laws or principles may cause the refusal to admit the existence of these laws, thereby avoiding, in one's mind at least, the unwanted judgment.
 - 4. Conflict between moral laws and the excessive assertiveness of the human ego is another related reason. The ego cannot accept the fact it had erred morally, cannot admit it, cannot confess to guilt. Hence, the rejection of moral laws which stand in the way of the ego, thereby evading any admission of error or guilt or need to confess to one's self, to a friend, to a spiritual advisor or directly to God.
 - 5. The equating of man with nature itself, thereby making man amoral as a dog is amoral.
- C. The net result of all this is the actual rejection of the entire system of traditional morality stemming from Judaic-Christian thought; and with this rejection the emergence of such negative consequences as:

I. Personal vices not recognized as such.

- a. In the past a thief when caught would admit he was a thief but now he would insist he is a liberator and his theft an act of giving.
- 2. Social division, strife, inequities, etc. are not recognized as being related to the subject of morality.
 - a. They are explained away as natural things in the struggle for survival and the survival of the fittest, etc.
 - b. Similarly, the human conscience, vital to traditional morality, is a product of changing social relations.
- D. This situation is related to Communism in that Communism also rejects traditional morality and, while its ostensible reasons may differ, the real reasons are connected; but more important still, the end reached is the same—rejection of the moral values underlying Western civilization.
- 1. Hence, there exists between these two groups a negative common ground, at the very least, in the field of morality.
 - a. They agree in essence upon the rejection.
 - b. It is this agreement, negative though it may be, which brings the two viewpoints closer together. This proximity provides for the driving of an opening wedge to bring about a complete merger of ideas on the question of morality.

Positive Aspect

E. In an uncommonly clever manner Communism makes behavior

once considered immoral to appear moral, thereby giving to evil conduct a positive force.

1. Wrong becomes right.

2. Evil becomes good.

F. On the basis of this inversion the world is offered a new morality in the name of proletarian utility.

1. Debasement is made synonymous with elevation.

G. This Communist morality proceeds from nonsupernatural concepts and is rooted to the tenet: "The end justifies the means." (And, not infrequently, the means become the end.)

1. Its underlying assumption is that nature is a continuous, interconnected whole and its social side (e.g., human society) is evolving inevitably through the dialectics of history toward a world Communist society.

a. This is reality.

2. Human behavior or conduct to be moral must be inseparable from this reality.

a. Morality is equated with the real.

b. The real is equated with Communism.

3. Therefore, all human conduct which furthers this social evolution toward Communism corresponds to reality.

a. Hence, its correspondence to reality makes this conduct moral.

4. The final conclusion here is: all human conduct which furthers this social evolution toward Communism is moral and all human conduct which retards this social evolution is immoral.

a. Reality begets Communism which in turn begets morality, therefore, Communism is moral.

5. In the light of this sophistry the person who embraces Communism can reason as follows:

- a. Hatred of fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers and friends, and betraying them into the hungry mouth of the dictatorship is moral when it corresponds to reality (e.g., evolving society dialectically, producing a world Communist society or to put it simply, when it furthers Communism). It is adherence to a higher form of filial love -- the filial love of the Party -- which is both a mother and a father.
- b. Treason to one's country is moral when it furthers Communism. It is adherence to a higher form of loyalty -- loyalty to humanity.
- c. Lying, deceit, treachery are moral when they further Communism. It is adherence to a higher form of truth -- dialectical truth.
- d. Fornication, adultery and other vices are moral when they further Communism. It is adherence to a higher form of chastity -- the chasteness of "the cause."
- e. Espionage, sedition, sabotage are moral when these activities further Communism. It is the adherence to a higher form of civic virtue -- world citizenry.
- f. Murder, brutality, cruelty, purges, concentration camp procedures are moral when they further Communism. It is adherence to a higher form of kindness -- the kindness which prevents the politically immature from harming themselves.

- g. Stealing is moral when it furthers Communism. It is adherence to a higher form of property -- communal property.
- h. Oppression, suppression, exploitation are moral when they further Communism. It is adherence to a higher form of freedom -- proletarian freedom or liberation.
- 6. As previously indicated, then, the positive aspect of the moral reason why people accept Communism permits the devotee to assert that wrong is right and evil is good.
 - a. This allows complete surrender to the lower self under the guise of developing the higher self.
 - b. This allows for the distorted, twisted justification of every conceivable form of immorality in the name of an evolutionary and revolutionary social reality.
- 7. Obviously, the moral reason for embracing Communism does hold more than a little attraction to those who neither prefer nor seek the denial and discipline of the interior man but the satisfaction and license of the exterior man.
 - a. A whole reservoir of evilness is theirs to drink from deeply and they can call it the reservoir of goodness -- the summum bonum.
 - b. The blackness of the night is theirs to revel in and they can call it the radiance of the dawn.
- 8. The moral reason for embracing Communism does hold more than a little attraction to those who are oddly, almost mysteriously, inclined toward the degradation of man by man in all the numberless forms which human degradation can take.
 - a. "An evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things."
- H. The acceptance of Communism because of moral reasons is common among all groups, ages, occupations, professions,

sexes, races, etc. It is an individual thing touching the individual, no matter where he is found.

1. When discussing the political reasons why people embrace Communism, reference was made to man as a political animal and here in a related sense man can be referred to as a moral animal, hence in this fallen state he is subjected to personal sin as he is to social politics.*

VIII. People Accept Communism Because Of EDUCATIONAL Reasons.

Negative Aspect

- A. Some people conceive education to be a process which prepares the youth of a country to make adequate adjustments and adaptations to a constantly changing society; that neither the youth can know nor does socially have any fixed principles or lasting values -- for none exist.
 1. This concept of education is predicated generally upon a form of naturalism which denies the existence of any order beyond nature (which is self-explaining) and our own sense experiences.
 2. This concept of education describes man as being continuous with nature, an emergent and not a created being.
- B. Education thus conceived denounces tradition with its fixed principles and eternal verities as an obstacle to progress.

*

The word "politics," as used here, does not mean "political science" or the art of government, rather, it is used to designate Machiavellian practices, the devious reduction of the art of government to crass expediency, resulting in the compromising of men as well as issues.

1. Tradition amounts to nothing substantial because of the element of change; hence, the education of youth must of necessity reject traditions, so says naturalism.
- C. God, religion, immortality and immutable moral principles, as embodied in any supernatural theory of education, must not be included in the educational process of modern life.
 1. If these concepts of God, religion, morality and immortality do have any objective existence we cannot know it.
 2. If there be life beyond the grave no one knows anything about it; hence, education cannot prepare you for it. Education can prepare you for life this side of the grave only.
 3. Education must stress a "this-world" view and reject entirely the "other-world" view.
 - a. The educational process must be strictly limited to this world and the things of this world as known to the senses.
 - b. "Presume not the heavens to scan, the proper study of mankind is man."
- D. Absolute truth is rejected by the proponents of naturalism in education as nonexistent, and if existent, then unknowable.
 1. Truth itself is a part of the process of constant change.
 2. Truth at best is relative.
 - a. Its most effective test is pragmatic.
- E. It is pertinent here to point out that Communism also rejects all supernatural theories of education.
 1. Therefore, in the field of education also there is a common ground of negation between all groups holding this view.

Positive Aspect

F. This rejection of the supernatural view of education* carries with it the full acceptance of the natural view and positive action in its behalf.

1. Education should focus, say the exponents of naturalism, all its energies, knowledge and facilities upon changing man in a changing society.

- Neither the human being nor society has any fixed principles or unchanging values.
- All is in a state of ceaseless flux, endless ebb and flow.

G. Educators trained in the spirit of naturalism must not teach immutable principles, eternal verities, lasting values nor point toward any fixed goals (not even a fixed democratic goal) because there are none of these in existence.

1. Similarly, they ought not to direct man toward, or seek to prepare man for, his final end, for if such does exist it is not known.

- Man should be directed toward and prepared for what he must face today and what he may have to face tomorrow.
- At the same time he should be reminded that tomorrow passes quickly and the day which follows will neither be like it or the immediate present.

*

The supernatural theory of education starts with a conception of man, reasoning that unless you know what man is you are not in any position to educate him. It defines man as being a creature of God, consisting of body, mind and soul destined for Immortality; that there are fixed moral principles underlying change, and lasting human values transcending time; that truth is absolute and only our knowledge of it is relative; that educators can and should educate for life in both the natural and supernatural order of things; that educators can and should educate the whole man -- body, mind and soul -- directing the whole man toward, and preparing him for, his final end.

H. Educators should teach youths to make limitless adjustments and adaptations to constantly changing environmental elements and social forms.

I. The river of time moves so swiftly man experiences it only in passing, and no identical portion of it can be experienced twice in the same moment, hence, the need for endless adjustment to the new and passing.

I. Educators should inculcate into the minds of the youth a flexible viewpoint, resulting in their being able to bend, stretch, change with and outgrow the social evolution in which they are forever immersed.

1. Experience is their vital guide.
2. Sense perception is their foundation.
3. Pragmatism is their reliable test.
4. Today is their theatre of operations.
a. Turn not to the past, act in tomorrow only when it arrives.

J. Educators must cause the youth to understand that all human values are relative including moral values.

I. Moral values are created and uncreated by human beings, contingent upon the evolving social needs of each passing stage in time.

K. Educators should teach the youths of our land to be socially useful and socially efficient, thereby resulting in their greater control over a regularly moving and shifting society.

I. This control can be maintained only through endless human adjustment and adaptation which keeps pace with concomitant changes in the social structure.

- a. Constant interaction takes place between man and environment, both in ceaseless flux.
- b. Neither man nor his environment nor the education which fits him for it, can have any set or specific direction or fixed end, or immutable principles or lasting value or ultimate purpose because it all is organic and a fluid process.
- c. It is man in this fluid process that provides himself with what significance he does hold.
- d. In this category he is a transitory phenomenon.

L. The important point here, for this study, seems to be the fact that the educational theory of Communism, while not, of course, necessarily identical with the educational theory grounded upon naturalism, does contain some very similar ideas. For example:

- 1. Both look upon man as being continuous with nature.
- 2. Both reject the supernatural theory of education.
- 3. Both accept the concept of endless change and flux in society.
- 4. Both view morals as non-transcendental and relative and to be rooted in empiricism.
- 5. Both are man-society centered.

M. These five points of similarity are important because each one is a primary point and not a secondary one in their respective educational theories.

N. They give the exponents of these two educational theories a certain common ground to be explored and developed under favorable conditions.

O. Further, the result is that youths fully exposed to education predicated upon naturalism in higher institutions of learning might become somewhat susceptible to the appeal of Communism because:

1. In the first place they would understand each other; there would be a kinship in terminology.
2. In the second place, the general social mood, the educational orientation, the fundamental psychological outlook would not be wholly dissimilar.

P. Therefore, higher education so predicated can be, inadvertently, a reason why some accept Communism.

Q. Its acceptance for this reason is common only among the educated, the products of institutions of higher learning in which students may have been immersed deeply in educational naturalism or influenced by professors holding this view.

IX. People Accept Communism Because Of PHILOSOPHICAL Reasons.

Negative Aspect

A. Philosophy seeks to answer the basic questions of life such as:

1. What is my origin?
2. What am I here for?
3. Does life have any ultimate meaning?
4. What can I know?
5. How should I conduct myself?
6. What can I do today that will not vanish tomorrow?
7. What is truth?
8. What is the truth of myself?
9. What is the good life and is it worth living?
10. What can I hope for at the end of life?

B. Philosophy seeks to provide rational answers to these questions by encompassing all knowledge known to man in a complete system of cogent thought which explains his origin, purpose and destiny in a manner acceptable to the intellect.

C. Philosophers tell us that, when a man possesses a philosophy of life which answers for him satisfactorily these basic questions, his mind is at relative peace, yet stimulated and eager to absorb more of that which is considered to be truth and wisdom. He "drinks deep" of "the Pierian spring."

1. He possesses the intellectual framework, at least, for enjoying a reasonable amount of happiness, elusive and fleeting though it be.
2. Within such a framework life holds significance for him.
3. He has a purpose linked to the Changeless which underlies all change in life's process.
4. He is conscious of the purpose he serves.
5. He has an attainable goal and believes he is moving toward it.

D. This type of philosophy was once common within the Judeo-Christian tradition (e.g., theism), but now it is found to be rejected not infrequently by different people in modern times for various reasons.

1. They have rejected it and have had difficulties in finding another to take its place.
2. By their own admissions we learn that they are adrift upon a rolling sea of shifting human relations. They are adrift upon this intellectual sea without knowledge of any ports, without a rudder, a compass or a light. Storms arise.

B. Life loses its flavor.

C. Doubt, uncertainty, skepticism, and cynicism afflict the human mind as do the acids of agnosticism.

D. This philosophic position reached is almost wholly a negative one.

E. This negative philosophic position, not uncommon during the past one hundred years among some intellectuals, has been described as follows by four minds of international repute who have experienced it.

1. "We see surrounding the narrow raft illumined by the flickering light of human comradeship, the dark ocean on whose rolling waves we toss for a brief hour; from the great night without, a chill blast breaks in upon our refuge; all the loneliness of humanity amid hostile forces is concentrated upon the individual soul, which must struggle alone, with what courage it can command against the whole weight of a universe that cares nothing for its hopes and fears."
2. "Ours is a lost cause, and there is no place for us in the natural universe."
3. "...I go
Lost in landscape of the mind,
A country where the lights are low
And where the ways are hard to find."
4. "I grope in darkness and my tired arms
grasp nothing save delusive shadows.
And for ten thousand years, as the sole
answer to my cries, as the sole comfort
in my wretchedness, I hear astir, over
this earth accurst, the despairing sob of
unrelieved agony."

F. It is while in this condition, that some negativistic philosophic minds of neopaganism have met the positivistic philosophic minds of Communism which offer hopefully and persuasively:

1. The ship of society serenely sailing on an ocean of universal peace in the place of the raft tossed about on an ocean of storms.
2. A victorious cause in the place of a lost cause.
3. A country where the lights are high and the ways blazed in the place of one where the lights are low and the ways hidden.
4. Laughter in the place of tears.

Positive Aspect

- H. The philosophic minds of neopaganism, not satisfied with their own negation, yet unwilling to return to the theistic philosophy of the Judaic-Christian tradition, listen to the siren song sung by Communism which:
 - I. Strikes the note of a vast philosophic synthesis.
 - a. This note reaches a responsive chord in the listeners.
 - b. This is but a natural response of a philosophic thinker forever seeking a perfect synthesis of everything which is knowable.
 - I. This Communist synthesis purports to be able to answer all the great questions of philosophy.
 1. It makes the attempt in concrete terms explaining:
 - a. Where the listeners stand today, where they can stand tomorrow and why.
 - b. It talks ingratiatingly of a road, it displays a map, it points to a destination and it furnishes a vehicle.
 - c. An infallible compass is provided for good measure.

- d. It describes systematic ways and means of using this equipment.
- J. The acceptance of this equipment means that philosophically minded people who have left the old road and have lost their old sense of direction have now discovered a new road and a new sense of direction.
 - 1. Likewise Communism provides them with a purpose in life which they had not enjoyed for some time.
 - 2. More important still, Communist philosophy seems to be able to give such intellectuals a consciousness of that purpose.
 - a. From this consciousness flows motivation.
 - 3. Their philosophy is now welded inseparably to action.
 - a. Its objective is not to interpret the world but to change it, recast it completely.
 - 4. To act personally toward recasting the world is to become involved emotionally.
 - a. To be so involved means that the emptiness in their being has been filled by the content of action and action itself -- never ceasing.
 - 5. As a result of this unique intellectual development, they experience an increased measure of satisfaction, if not some degree of happiness itself.
 - a. Their old modus operandi was unworkable; their new one is workable.
 - b. They had lost themselves in the past; now they have found themselves in the present.

- c. Once they had no future; now they have and, even though it is but a passing earthly future, it is better, they think, than none at all.
- d. Their thoughts which had been shattered to bits have now been put back into a philosophic pattern or synthesis.

K. In summation it is seen that the rejection of a philosophy of life once held (e.g., theism) leaves an intellectual vacuum; it creates a need.

- l. The philosophy of Communism with some people has the power to fill this vacuum, to meet the need and become a positive force in their lives.
 - a. Hence, philosophy can be one more reason why people accept Communism.

L. The acceptance of Communism, because of philosophic reasons, is common only among the well-educated.

X. People Accept Communism Because Of RELIGIOUS Reasons.

Negative Aspect

- A. The word "religion," as derived from the Latin word "religare" meaning "to bind fast," can signify the unbreakable bond existing between God and man.
 - 1. Man is bound to God from birth to death; he is related to Him; he depends upon Him; he worships Him.
 - 2. God is man's Alpha and Omega.
- B. From religion -- the bond between God and man -- comes man's desire "to know the cause of the effects that he sees."

C. "Religion is the final centre of repose; the good to which all things tend; apart from which man is a shadow, his very existence a riddle, and the stupendous scenes of nature which surround him as unmeaning as the leaves which the sibyl scattered in the wind."

D. It is religion which gives man the eternal vision of:

1. "One God, one Law,
One far-off Divine Event
Toward which the whole
Creation moves."

E. Religion, therefore, has the power to be the sine qua non of life which impels man to say confidently and with the dignity of a sovereign soul:

1. "This world's no blot for us
Nor blank -- it means
intensely, and it means good:
To find its meaning is
my meat and drink."

F. People who have rejected the religious vision of life have, self-admittedly, returned to the world of "blot" and "blanks!"

1. They discarded bread and accepted a stone.
2. As in the case of philosophy, but in an even more vital and fundamental way, a vacuum forms within the interior self, penetrating to the very depths of the human soul.
 - a. An all-embracing emptiness seizes the human being, productive of discontent, restlessness, resentment, bitterness, unhappiness and sadness which, as one thinker confessed, caused him to conclude in the secret recesses of his own mind: "Though dead to the Faith that assured me of God, I'll mourn to the end the delights of belief."

Positive Aspect

G. It is in this mental state that some people have been introduced to Communism.

1. It is this mental state which opens the door for its acceptance.

H. From a form of denial they go to a form of affirmation.

1. The "other world" is denied, "this world" is affirmed.
2. The worship of God is denied, the worship of humanity affirmed.
3. One creed is denied, another creed is affirmed.
4. One organization, the Church, is denied; another organization, the Party, is affirmed.

I. One set of values is substituted for another.

J. The old vision recedes as a new vision arises and takes possession of the human soul.

1. The new vision is one of universal humanism shed of all religious content, yet retaining:
 - a. the zeal;
 - b. the driving force;
 - c. the fervor;
 - d. the social transforming power; and
 - e. the self-sacrificial spirit of the old vision, which has not been so much lost as it has been mutilated, disfigured, twisted and directed toward an end for which it was never intended.

K. The internal creed and the external vision of Communism not only seem to emanate from an inverted religious

impulse but they seem to express themselves through religious forms as well. For example:

1. Matter in motion is Communism's Alpha and Omega.
2. Dialectical materialism is its theology.
3. Humanity deified becomes the supreme object of worship.
4. Karl Marx is the long-awaited Messiah, the God-made man.
5. Engels, Lenin and Stalin are his disciples; Trotsky the Judas.
6. Revolution is the redemption.
7. The Communist Party is the Church.
8. Communist officials form the clergy.
9. The proletariat is the laity.
10. Tactics and strategy make up the sacraments, the channels of grace.
11. The concentration camp is its hell.
12. The non-Communist world is the missionary area to be communized and saved.
13. The seizure of world power is the Last Judgment.
14. Heaven on earth is the final destiny of man.
15. In short, Communism is far more than an economic system, a political theory, a sociological doctrine of a vast philosophic synthesis. People do not sacrifice themselves for these.
16. Communism is a religion -- inverted, invalid, twisted and distorted, to be sure -- but a religion nonetheless.

M. Therefore, religion is a very important reason why some people accept Communism.

1. Its acceptance for this reason extends to all kinds of people in all walks of life, for man is naturally religious.

a. His nature will be expressed one way or the other.

N. Western civilization has pointed to the truly religious man as the best type of man.

1. "The corruption of the best is the worst."

* * * * *

These reasons why people accept Communism are fundamental reasons. They reach, not infrequently, deep inside of man and cover the individual differences found therein.

It is not unlikely that every reason which has motivated top-level Communists into accepting Communism can be found in essence in the material outlined in Part I of this study.

Using the content of this outline as a guide, seek to identify the reasons why the particular top-level Communists you are endeavoring to convert into Bureau informants, have embraced Communism and joined the Communist Party, USA. Group these reasons under one or more of the appropriate headings, and, list for your own use, the derivative individual factors and characteristics which turned them (your present problem) in the direction of Communism and

maintain them in its orbit.

Will the pattern you form as a result of this procedure give you any clue to their motivation? Can you extract from it a formula for the solution of your problem?

PART II

REASONS WHY PEOPLE

REJECT COMMUNISM

REASONS WHY PEOPLE

REJECT COMMUNISM

There is no one word which will adequately accent the reasons why people reject Communism. If such a word did exist it probably would be one similar to the word "DISILLUSIONMENT."

This is not surprising, because when Communism is examined exhaustively from economic, political, sociological, psychological and philosophical viewpoints, it is found to be demonstrably invalid, false and deceptive. In other words, it is an illusion.

By illusion is meant an object or subject which presents a false appearance or impression, thereby making possible a fundamental misconception in the minds of those who embrace either that object or subject. It is: "To cheat the eye with blear illusions."

This is the very antithesis of fact, actuality or truth, and a correct conception of the same. Therefore, to be disillusioned with Communism is to strip it bare of all its deceptive coloring, impressions, disguises and appearances, resulting in it being viewed, conceived and experienced for

what it actually is. It is the releasing and freeing of the mind from the shackles of error.

To go from a vigorous belief in what was thought to be truth to an equally vigorous belief in its untruth, in its illusory character, is not infrequently a most disturbing experience, a mental crisis. This intellectual procession from life lived in illusion to life lived in disillusionment is graphically portrayed in the lines of Arthur Koestler, a former Communist. He writes: "I served the Communist Party for seven years -- the same length of time as Jacob tended Laban's sheep to win Rachel his daughter. When the time was up, the bride was led into his dark tent; only the next morning did he discover that his ardors had been spent not on the lovely Rachel but on the ugly Leah.

"I wonder whether he ever recovered from the shock of having slept with an illusion."

People who sincerely reject Communism are people who have slept with an illusion, and, while they may vary in describing this illusion and differ in the degree of shock experienced on being disillusioned, they stand as one on the essential fact -- the rejection of what was once to them truth, because it was discovered to be untruth.

The question which naturally arises at this point is: Why were they disillusioned?

In attempting to suggest an answer to this question, we will first divide disillusionment with Communism into two broad categories: (1) that of the uneducated and (2) that of the educated.

I. The Disillusionment Of The Uneducated*

- A. Communism offers the uneducated organized laborers practical, tangible things and gains in the present. For example:
 1. Higher wages and an end to "wage freeze," etc.;
 2. Shorter working hours;
 3. Better working conditions:
 - a. Improved sanitation;
 - b. More effective safeguards against dangerous machinery;
 - c. Medical care "on the job";
 4. Expanded social security;
 5. Expanded unemployment insurance;
 6. Share the profit plans;
 7. Expansion of the right to strike;
 8. Control of his own life, government and society through election of men to public office, men taken from his own class and elected by means of "politicalizing" labor unions and voting as a block, etc.

*

This word is here used as a descriptive designation only to set apart those with a high school education or less from those with a college education or more.

B. Communism offers the uneducated unorganized laborers and consumers in general practical, tangible things and gains in the present. For example:

1. Rent control;
2. Price control;
3. Tax reductions for "low-income people";
4. Repeal of all taxes "on incomes below \$5,000";
5. Better housing;
6. Free, public medical service;
7. Peace for themselves and their families;
8. Reduced food prices;
9. Reduced clothing prices;
10. Slum clearance;
11. Low interest rates, with a moratorium on mortgages;
12. Free education for the children of all workers from the first grade through college;
13. Equal pay for equal work;
14. Full emancipation for women, etc.

C. Communism offers the uneducated of minority, national and racial groups practical, tangible things and gains in the present. For example:

1. The end of "national chauvinism" and "bourgeois nationalism";
2. Equal rights and opportunities for all races;

3. The end of every form of "discrimination" against the Negro in particular;
4. Independence for Puerto Ricans;
5. "First class citizenship" for all minority, racial and national groups, etc.

D. The main points here seem to be as follows:

1. Communism offers the uneducated, practical, tangible things and gains in the immediate present.
2. These offers relate to fundamental, elemental considerations -- "food, clothing, comfort," etc.
3. They are quickly grasped and understood by those to whom they are offered.
4. It is an established fact that Communism in the United States has been unable to fulfill the vast majority of its promises, it has not been able to produce what it offered.
5. Because what it offered the uneducated was and is fundamental and elemental and understood by them, they quickly realize when and where Communism has been unable to fulfill its promises.
 - a. Communist theorists are able to rationalize and explain away why the ideal Communist world society has not been reached as yet, but they cannot rationalize and explain away so easily why Communism did not succeed in increasing the laborers' wages in Factory X by November 1951, when it said it would; or why the Negro is still barred from many colleges and, worse still, is discriminated against on

occasions within the Communist Party itself.

6. Therefore, the disillusionment of the uneducated sets in, revolving around the tangible, concrete things wanted by them and promised to them, but not received by them, in spite of their contributions of time and money to Communism.

II. The Disillusionment Of The Educated

A. Communism offers the educated everywhere a sound economic system, a superior political theory, a unified sociological doctrine and a vast philosophic synthesis.

1. The educated intellectuals are offered the ideal intellectual blueprint of a world society, predicated upon universal humanism.

B. However, the stubborn facts of human nature remain unchanged before these educated intellectuals.

1. They see economic want, although Communism advocates economic plenty.
2. They see political tyranny, although Communism advocates political justice.
3. They see sociological dislocation, chaos, and disharmony, although Communism advocates unity, order and harmony.
4. They see the nonscientific placed on a pedestal, although Communism purports to be scientific.
5. They see brutality, thought control, freedom in all forms curtailed, oppression and human degradation, although Communism advocates the opposite and pretends to be a universal liberating force.
6. They see the atomization of knowledge although Communism claims to be a philosophic synthesis.

C. In short, the terrific dualism which prevails in Communist thought and action unsettles the sincere intellectuals who once accepted it.

1. They are appalled by the great gulf between the real and the ideal.
2. They are confused by what ought to be and what is.
3. They are saddened by what was promised and what is received.

D. This blighting dualism perceived by the intellectuals caused some of them to doubt more and more.

1. The seeds of doubt took root and grew.
2. They led to a re-examination of the whole field of Communist thought (and for some it was the first serious and exhaustive examination, for when they accepted Communism their examination had been superficial; their accent was on a protest against what is, rather than on a thorough understanding of what might take its place.)

E. The re-examination of Communist philosophy by the educated, who were to reject it, reflected basic flaws in Communist reasoning repugnant to their minds. These flaws in Communism were found in abundance in all the major fields of thought; such as,

1. Economics,
2. Politics,
3. Sociology,
4. Science,
5. History,
6. Morals,
7. Education,

8. Psychology,

9. Philosophy,

10. Religion.

F. The net result, in different cases, was a reversal of their intellectual positions as analyzed and set out in Part I of this paper entitled: "Reasons Why People Accept Communism."

1. Illusion was surrendered and they returned to reality.

2. (Reread Part I of this paper, in the light of the above, and further insight may be gained relative to why people reject Communism.)

III. Sundry factors involved in the rejection of Communism by both the uneducated and the educated, factors not necessarily related to disillusionment are as follows:

A. Dishonesty, corruption, incompetency of Communist, Party officials.

B. Trips to Russia reflecting conditions and practices which Communism purports to be against.

C. Deviationism.

1. Disagreement over the interpretation of the principles of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

a. This takes many different forms with the basic directions being, what Communists claim, either "to the right" or "to the left" of their own position.

D. Return to a religious faith.

E. Return to moral living.

F. Improved financial condition.

- G. Personality conflicts.
- H. Rediscovery of faith in American democracy.
- I. The Nazi-Russian Pact of 1939.
- J. Factional rivalry within Communism.
- K. Influence of friends and relatives.
- L. Failure of personal opportunism.
- M. Satisfactory and gainful employment.
- N. Ownership of property, homes, etc.
- O. Security investigations.
- P. Fear of prosecutions.
- Q. Psychological maladjustment to Communist discipline, etc.
- R. General apathy, indolence and indifference.
- S. Expulsion for different reasons. (Expulsion, of course, is involuntary, hence, not a reason why one rejects Communism of his own volition. However, subsequent to expulsion in some cases the person has totally rejected Communism as a result of his experiences and on closer examination. Expulsion prepared the ground.)

* * * * *

As in Part I, the reasons given in Part II which have served to induce people to reject Communism, are, in the main, fundamental. They may, and frequently do, take a different form of expression with

unlike types of people under varying conditions. This, though, is a secondary characteristic and the reason itself, as a fundamental factor, remains essentially the same with all.

Greater detail could be furnished here but it is not believed necessary because (1) the reverse of the ten fundamental reasons set forth in Part I can be applied in connection with the rejection of Communism and (2) Part III will present in considerable detail the specific and sundry reasons why sixteen persons, who once accepted Communism, came later to reject it.

The thoughts of these sixteen persons are given in their own language as it is believed they will be more useful to special agents in this form. Only those thoughts have been selected which appear to have a significant bearing on the issue in question. They are not necessarily presented in chronological order, altho^{ught} most of them are.

You will observe that in describing the development of some of these persons considerable attention is given to their family and childhood influences. This is done because these influences have been important in directing them toward Communism. With this fact in mind, it may be well to assume that in a few instances, at least, you may find the emotional motivating key of the top-level Communists with whom you are concerned, in their childhood background.

PART III

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO ACCEPTED
AND REJECTED COMMUNISM
WITH FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH IMPELLED THEM
TO SO ACT, SET FORTH IN THEIR OWN WORDS

ARTHUR KOESTLER

This person was born on September 5, 1905, in Budapest, Hungary. He received his education in Vienna and later became a correspondent in the Near East. He joined the Communist Party in 1931 and left in 1938. Koestler is the author of various books.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED ARTHUR KOESTLER IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"I became converted because I was ripe for it and lived in a disintegrating society thirsting for faith. But the day when I was given my Party card was merely the climax of a development which had started long before I had read about the drowned pigs or heard the names of Marx and Lenin. Its roots reach back into childhood; and though each of us, comrades of the Pink Decade, had individual roots with different twists in them, we are products of, by and large, the same generation and cultural climate. It is this unity underlying diversity which makes me hope that my story is worth telling."

Arthur Koestler in The God That Failed, edited by Richard Crossman, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1949, p. 17.

"I was ripe to be converted, as a result of my personal case-history; thousands of other members of the intelligentsia and the middle classes of my generation were ripe for it, by virtue of other personal case-histories; but, however much these differed from case to case, they had a common denominator: the rapid disintegration of moral values, of the pre-1914 pattern of life..."

Ibid., p. 20.

"Every contact with people poorer than myself was unbearable..."

Ibid., p. 18.

"The analyst would have no difficulty in showing that the roots of this guilt-complex go deeper than the crisis in our household budget..."

Ibid., p. 18.

"At the age of nine, when our middle-class idyl collapsed, I had suddenly become conscious of the economic Facts of Life. As an only child, I continued to be pampered by my parents; but, well aware of the family crisis, and torn by pity for my father, who was of a generous and somewhat childlike disposition, I suffered a pang of guilt whenever they bought me books or toys. This continued later on, when every suit I bought for myself meant so much less to send home. Simultaneously, I developed a strong dislike of the obviously rich; not because they could afford to buy things (envy plays a much smaller part in social conflict than is generally assumed) but because they were able to do so without a guilty conscience. Thus I projected a personal predicament onto the structure of society at large."

Ibid., p. 18.

"It is true that the case-history of most revolutionaries and reformers reveals a neurotic conflict with family or society."

Ibid., p. 16.

"Thus sensitized by a personal conflict, I was ripe for the shock of learning that wheat was burned, fruit artificially spoiled and pigs were drowned in the depression years to keep prices up and enable fat capitalists to chant to the sound of harps, while Europe trembled under the torn boots of hunger-marchers and my father hid his frayed cuffs under the table. The frayed cuffs and drowned pigs blended into one emotional explosion, as the fuse of the archetype was touched off. We sang the 'Internationale,' but the words might as well have been the older ones: 'woe to the shepherds who feed themselves, but feed not their flocks.'"

Ibid., p. 19.

"...we conclude that if on one hand oversensitivity to social injustice and obsessional craving for Utopia are signs of neurotic maladjustment, society may, on the other hand, reach a state of decay where the neurotic rebel causes more joy in heaven than the sane executive who orders pigs to be drowned under the eyes of starving men. This in fact was the state of our civilization when, in December, 1931, at the age of twenty-six, I joined the Communist Party of Germany."

Ibid., p. 17.

"I joined the Party (which to this day remains 'the' Party for all of us who once belonged to it) in 1931, at the beginning of that short-lived period of optimism, of that abortive spiritual renaissance, later known as the Pink Decade. The stars of that treacherous dawn were Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Gide and Malraux in France; Piscator, Becher, Renn, Brecht, Eisler, Saeghers in Germany; Auden, Isherwood, Spender in England; Dos Passos, Upton Sinclair, Steinbeck in the United States. (Of course, not all of them were members of the Communist Party.) The cultural atmosphere was saturated with Progressive Writers' congresses, experimental theaters, committees for peace and against Fascism, societies for cultural relations with the USSR, Russian films and avant-garde magazines. It looked indeed as if the Western world, convulsed by the aftermath of war, scourged by inflation, depression, unemployment and the absence of a faith to live for, was at last going to...

'Clear from the head the masses of
impressive rubbish;
Rally the lost and trembling forces
of the will,
Gather them up and let them loose upon
the earth,
Till they construct at last a human
justice' (Auden)."

Ibid., p. 21.

"...the revolutionary's Utopia, which in appearance represents a complete break with the past, is always modeled on some image of the lost Paradise, of a legendary Golden Age. The classless Communist society, according to Marx and Engels, was to be a revival, at the end of the dialectical spiral, of the primitive Communist society which stood at its beginning. Thus all true faith involves a revolt against the believer's social environment, and the projection into the future of an ideal derived from the remote past. All Utopias are fed from the sources of mythology; the social engineer's blueprints are merely revised editions of the ancient text."

Ibid., p. 16.

"The necessary lie, the necessary slander; the necessary intimidation of the masses to preserve them from shortsighted errors; the necessary liquidation of oppositional groups and hostile classes; the necessary sacrifice of a whole generation in the interest of the next--it may all sound monstrous and yet it was so easy to accept while rolling along the single track of faith."

Ibid., p. 61.

"Gradually I learned to distrust my mechanistic preoccupation with facts and to regard the world around me in the light of dialectic interpretation. It was a satisfactory and indeed blissful state; once you had assimilated the technique you were no longer disturbed by facts; they automatically took on the proper color and fell into their proper place. Both morally and logically the Party was infallible: morally, because its aims were right, that is, in accord with the Dialectic of History, and these aims justified all means; logically, because the Party was the vanguard of the Proletariat, and the Proletariat the embodiment of the active principle in History."

Ibid., p. 34.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED
ARTHUR KOESTLER AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"But, in fact, though I accepted the necessity for conspiratorial vigilance, I felt increasingly frustrated."

Ibid., p. 32.

"But at the same time the Party was preparing to go underground; and, apart from this contingency, its activities were for the most part of an illegal, underground character. The new recruit to the Party found himself plunged into a strange world... It was a paradoxical atmosphere---a blend of fraternal comradeship and mutual distrust. Its motto might have been: Love your comrade, but don't trust him an inch---both in your own interest, for he may betray you; and in his, because the less he is tempted to betray, the better for him. This, of course, is true of every underground movement; and it was so much taken for granted that nobody seemed to realize the gradual transformation of character and of human relationships which a long Party career infallibly produced."

Ibid., pp. 29 - 30.

"Repetitiveness of diction, the catechism technique of asking a rhetorical question and repeating the full question in the answer; the use of stereotyped adjectives and the dismissal of an attitude or fact by the simple expedient of putting words in inverted commas and giving them an ironic inflection (the 'revolutionary' past of Trotsky, the 'humanistic' bleatings of the 'liberal' press, etc.); all these were essential parts of a style, of which Josef Djugashwili is the uncontested master, and which through its very tedium produced a dull, hypnotic effect. Two hours of this dialectical tom-tom and you didn't know whether you were a boy or a girl, and were ready to believe either as soon as the rejected alternative appeared in inverted commas.

"You were also ready to believe that the Socialists were: (a) your main enemies, (b) your natural allies; that socialist and capitalist countries: (a) could live peacefully side by side, and (b) could not live peacefully side by side; and that when Engels had written that Socialism in One Country was impossible, he had meant the exact opposite. You further learned to prove, by the method of chain-deduction, that anybody who disagreed with you was an agent of Fascism, because: (a) by his disagreeing with your line he endangered the unity of the Party; (b) by endangering the unity of the Party he improved the chances of a Fascist victory; hence (c) he acted objectively as an agent of Fascism even if subjectively he happened to have his kidneys smashed to pulp by the Fascists in Dachau. Generally speaking, words like 'agent of,' 'Democracy,' 'Freedom,' etc., meant something quite different in Party usage from what they meant in general usage; and as, furthermore, even their Party meaning changed with each shift of the line, our polemical methods became rather like the croquet game of the Queen of Hearts, in which the hoops moved about the field and the balls were live hedgehogs. With this difference, that when a player missed his turn and the Queen shouted 'Off with his head,' the order was executed in earnest. To survive, we all had to become virtuosos of Wonderland croquet."

Ibid., pp. 47 - 48.

"Not only our thinking, but also our vocabulary was reconditioned. Certain words were taboo-- for instance 'lesser evil' or 'spontaneous'; the latter because 'spontaneous' manifestations of the revolutionary class-consciousness were part of Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution. Other words and turns of phrase became favorite stock-in-trade. I mean not only the obvious words of Communist jargon like 'the toiling masses'; but words like 'concrete' or 'sectarian' ('You must put your question into a more concrete form,

"Comrade!; 'you are adopting a Left-sectarian attitude, Comrade!'); and even such abstruse words as 'herostratic.' In one of his works Lenin had mentioned Herostratus, the Greek who burnt down a temple because he could think of no other way of achieving fame. Accordingly, one often heard and read phrases like 'the criminally herostratic madness of the counter-revolutionary wreckers of the heroic efforts of the toiling masses in the Fatherland of the Proletariat to achieve the second Five Year Plan in four years.'"

Ibid., p. 45.

"According to their vocabulary and favorite cliches, you could smell out at once people with Trotskyite, Reformist, Brandlertite, Blanquist and other deviations. And vice versa, Communists betrayed themselves by their vocabulary to the police, and later to the Gestapo. I know of one girl whom the Gestapo had picked up almost at random, without any evidence against her, and who was caught out on the word 'concrete.' The Gestapo Commissar had listened to her with boredom, half-convinced that his underlings had blundered in arresting her--until she used the fatal word for the second time. The Commissar pricked his ears. 'Where did you pick up that expression?' he asked. The girl, until that moment quite self-possessed, became rattled, and once rattled she was lost."

Ibid., pp. 45 - 46.

"Our literary, artistic and musical tastes were similarly reconditioned. Lenin had said somewhere that he had learned more about France from Balzac's novels than from all history books put together. Accordingly, Balzac was the greatest of all times, whereas other novelists of the past merely reflected 'the distorted values of the decaying society which had produced them.'"

Ibid., p. 46.

"As for the 'sexual urge,' though it was officially sanctioned, we were in something of a quandary about it. Monogamy, and the whole institution of the family, were a product of the economic system; they bred individualism, hypocrisy, an escapist attitude to the class struggle and were altogether to be rejected; bourgeois matrimony was merely a form of prostitution sanctioned by society. But promiscuity was equally a Bad Thing. It had flourished in the Party, both in Russia and abroad, until Lenin made his famous pronouncement against the Glass of Water Theory (that is, against the popular maxim that the sexual act was of no more consequence than the quenching of thirst by a glass of water). Hence bourgeois morality was a Bad Thing. But promiscuity was an equally Bad Thing, and the only correct, concrete attitude towards the sexual urge was Proletarian Morality. This consisted in getting married, being faithful to one's spouse, and producing proletarian babies. But then, was this not the same thing as bourgeois morality?-- The question, Comrade, shows that you are thinking in mechanistic, not in dialectical, terms. What is the difference between a gun in the hands of a policeman and a gun in the hands of a member of the revolutionary working class? The difference between a gun in the hands of a policeman and in the hands of a member of the revolutionary working class is that the policeman is a lackey of the ruling class and his gun an instrument of oppression, whereas the same gun in the hands of a member of the revolutionary working class is an instrument of the liberation of the oppressed masses. Now the same is true of the difference between so-called bourgeois 'morality' and Proletarian Morality. The institution of marriage which in capitalist society is an aspect of bourgeois decay, is dialectically transformed in its function in a healthy proletarian society. Have you understood, Comrade, or shall I repeat my answer in more concrete terms?"

Ibid., pp. 46--47.

"In the late summer of 1932 my Soviet visa was granted at last."

"I stayed in the Soviet Union for one year, half of which I spent traveling..."

"What I saw and experienced came as a shock--but a shock with a delayed-action effect, as it were."

"I saw the ravages of the famine of 1932-33 in the Ukraine: hordes of families in rags begging at the railway stations, the women lifting up to the compartment window their starving brats which-- with drumstick limbs, big cadaverous heads, puffed bellies--looked like embryos out of alcohol bottles; the old men with frost-bitten toes sticking out of torn slippers."

"I could not help noticing the Asiatic backwardness of life; the apathy of the crowds in the streets, tramways and railway stations; the incredible housing conditions which make all industrial towns appear one vast slum..."

Ibid., pp. 56, 59, 60.

"The experiences responsible for this change were fear, pity and a third one, more difficult to describe. Fear, not of death, but of torture and humiliation and the more unpleasant forms of dying... Pity for the little Andalusian and Catalan peasants whom I heard crying and calling for their madres when they were led out at night to face the firing squad; and finally, a condition of the mind usually referred to in terms borrowed from the vocabulary of mysticism, which would present itself at unexpected moments and induce a state of inner peace..."

Ibid., pp. 67 - 68.

"The lesson taught by this type of experience, when put into words, always appears under the dowdy guise of perennial commonplaces: that man is a reality, mankind an abstraction; that men cannot be treated

'as units in operations of political arithmetic because they behave like the symbols for zero and the infinite, which dislocate all mathematical operations; that the end justifies the means only within very narrow limits; that ethics is not a function of social utility, and charity not a petty-bourgeois sentiment but the gravitational force which keeps civilization in its orbit. Nothing can sound more flat-footed than such verbalizations of a knowledge which is not of a verbal nature; yet every single one of these trivial statements was incompatible with the Communist faith which I held."

Ibid., p. 68.

IGNAZIO SILONE

This person was born in Italy on May 1, 1900. He assisted in founding the Communist Party of Italy in 1921, which he left in 1930. Although he has rejected Communism he remains a Socialist.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED IGNACIO SILONE IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"I am myself sometimes astonished to find, when I go back over that remote, almost prehistoric, period of our lives with my contemporaries, how they cannot remember at all, or only very vaguely, incidents which had a decisive influence on me; whereas on the contrary, they can clearly recall other circumstances which to me were pointless and insignificant. Are they, these contemporaries of mine, all 'unconscious accomplices'? And by what destiny or virtue does one, at a certain age, make the important choices, and become 'accomplice' or 'rebel'? From what source do some people derive their spontaneous intolerance of injustice, even though the injustice affects only others? And that sudden feeling of guilt at sitting down to a well-laden table, when others are having to go hungry? And that pride which makes poverty and prison preferable to contempt?

"I don't know. Perhaps no one knows. At a certain point, even the fullest and deepest confession becomes a mere statement of fact and not an answer. Anyone who has reflected seriously about himself or others knows how profoundly secret are certain decisions, how mysterious and unaccountable certain vocations."

Ignazio Silone in The God That Failed, pp. 96 - 97.

"The phenomenon which most impressed me, when I arrived at the age of reason, was the violent contrast, the incomprehensible, absurd, monstrous contrast between family and private life---in the main decent, honest, and well-conducted--- and social relations, which were very often crude and full of hatred and deceit."

Ibid., p. 82.

"I thought I had reached this discovery, when I moved to the town and made my first contact with the workers' movement. It was a kind of flight, a safety exit from unbearable solitude, the sighting of terra firma, the discovery of a new continent. . . .

"For me to join the Party of Proletarian Revolution was not just a simple matter of signing up with a political organization; it meant a conversion, a complete dedication. Those were still the days when to declare oneself a Socialist or Communist was equivalent to throwing oneself to the winds, and meant breaking with one's parents and not finding a job. . . .

"One had to change one's name, abandon every former link with family and friends, and live a false life to remove any suspicion of conspiratorial activity. The Party became family, school, church, barracks; the world that lay beyond it was to be destroyed and built anew. . . . Every sacrifice was welcomed as a personal contribution to the 'price of collective redemption'; and it should be emphasized that the links which bound us to the Party grew steadily firmer, not in spite of the dangers and sacrifices involved, but because of them. This explains the attraction exercised by Communism on certain categories of young men and of women, on intellectuals, and on the highly sensitive and generous people who suffer most from the wastefulness of bourgeois society. Anyone who thinks he can wean the best and most serious-minded young people away from Communism by enticing them into a well-warmed hall to play billiards, starts from an extremely limited and unintelligent conception of mankind."

Ibid., pp. 98, - 99.

"The State always stands for swindling, intrigue and privilege, and could not stand for anything else."

Ibid., p. 92.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED
IGNAZIO SILONE AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"The increasing degeneration of the Communist International into a tyranny and a bureaucracy filled me with repulsion and disgust..."

Ibid., p. 100.

"What struck me most about the Russian Communists, even in such really exceptional personalities as Lenin and Trotsky, was their utter incapacity to be fair in discussing opinions that conflicted with their own. The adversary, simply for daring to contradict, at once became a traitor, an opportunist, a hireling. An adversary in good faith is inconceivable to the Russian Communists."

Ibid., p. 101.

"Just as I was leaving Moscow, in 1922, Alexandra Kollontaj said to me: 'If you happen to read in the papers that Lenin has had me arrested for stealing the silver spoons in the Kremlin, that simply means that I'm not entirely in agreement with him about some little problem of agricultural or industrial policy.'"

Ibid., p. 101.

"I spent hours one day trying to explain to one of the directors of the State publishing house, why she ought at least to be ashamed of the atmosphere of discouragement and intimidation in which Soviet writers lived. She could not understand what I was trying to tell her."

Ibid., p. 101.

"Days of somber discouragement followed for me; I asked myself: Have we sunk to this? Those who are dead, those who are dying in prison, have sacrificed themselves for this? The vagabond, lonely, perilous lives that we ourselves are leading, strangers in our own countries--is it all for this? My depression soon reached that extreme stage when the will is paralyzed and physical resistance suddenly gives way."

Ibid., p. 111.

"The truth is this: the day I left the Communist Party was a very sad one for me, it was like a day of deep mourning, the mourning for my lost youth... It is not easy to free oneself from an experience as intense as that of the underground organization of the Communist Party. Something of it remains and leaves a mark on the character which lasts all one's life."

Ibid., p. 113.

"The number of ex-Communists is legion today. 'The final struggle,' I said jokingly to Togliatti recently, 'will be between the Communists and the ex-Communists.'"

Ibid., p. 113.

"But my faith in Socialism (to which I think I can say my entire life bears testimony) has remained more alive than ever in me. In its essence, it has gone back to what it was when I first revolted against the old social order; a refusal to admit the existence of destiny, an extension of the ethical impulse from the restricted individual and family sphere to the whole domain of human activity, a need for effective brotherhood, an affirmation of the superiority of the human person over all the economic and social mechanisms which oppress him. As the years have gone by, there has been added to this an intuition of man's dignity and a feeling of reverence for that which in man is always trying to outdistance itself, and lies at the root of his eternal disquiet... I do not conceive Socialist policy as tied to any particular theory, but to a faith."

Ibid., pp. 113 - 114.

RICHARD WRIGHT (Colored)

This person was born near Natchez, Mississippi, on September 4, 1908. He entered the Communist Party, USA, through the John Reed Club, later to break away from the Party. He is an author of different books. Wright refused to accept Party orders and discipline and this was the basis of his defection.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED RICHARD

WRIGHT IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"It was not the economics of Communism, nor the great power of trade unions, nor the excitement of underground politics that claimed me; my attention was caught by the similarity of the experiences of workers in other lands, by the possibility of uniting scattered but kindred peoples into a whole."

Richard Wright, in The God That Failed, p. 118.

"What did seem important was: Could a Negro ever live halfway like a human being in this goddamn country?"

Ibid., p. 189.

"I was meeting men and women whom I should know for decades to come, who were to form the first sustained relationships in my life....

"I had once worked as a servant for people like these and I was skeptical. I tried to fathom their motives, but I could detect no condescension in them."

Ibid., p. 117.

"I went home full of reflection, probing the sincerity of the strange white people I had met, wondering how they really regarded Negroes. I lay on my bed and read

"the magazines and was amazed to find that there did exist in this world an organized search for the truth of the lives of the oppressed and the isolated. When I had begged bread from the officials, I had wondered dimly if the outcasts could become united in action, thought, and feeling. Now I knew. It was being done in one-sixth of the earth already. The revolutionary words leaped from the printed page and struck me with tremendous force."

Ibid., p. 118.

"It seemed to me that here at last, in the realm of revolutionary expression, Negro experience could find a home, a functioning value and role. Out of the magazines I read came a passionate call for the experiences of the disinherited, and there were none of the lame lisplings of the missionary in it. It did not say: 'Be like us and we will like you, maybe.' It said: 'If you possess enough courage to speak out what you are, you will find that you are not alone.' It urged life to believe in life."

Ibid., p. 118.

"I sat through several meetings of the club and was impressed by the scope and seriousness of its activities. The club was demanding that the government create jobs for unemployed artists; it planned and organized art exhibits; it raised funds for the publication of Left Front; and it sent scores of speakers to trade-union meetings. The members were fervent, democratic, restless, eager, self-sacrificing. I was convinced, and my response was to set myself the task of making Negroes know what Communists were."

Ibid., p. 121.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED

RICHARD WRIGHT AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"The Communists, I felt, had oversimplified the experiences of those whom they sought to lead. In

"their efforts to recruit masses, they had missed the meaning of the lives of the masses, had conceived of people in too abstract a manner."

Ibid., p. 120.

"Party duties broke into my efforts at expression."

Ibid., p. 135.

"It was whispered that I was trying to lead a secret group in opposition to the Party. I had learned that denial of accusations was useless."

Ibid., p. 135.

"I found myself arguing alone against the majority opinion, and then I made still another amazing discovery. I saw that even those who agreed with me would not support me. At that meeting I learned that when a man was informed of the wish of the Party he submitted, even though he knew with all the strength of his brain that the wish was not a wise one, was one that would ultimately harm the Party's interest.

"It was not courage that made me oppose the Party. I simply did not know any better. It was inconceivable to me, though bred in the lap of Southern hate, that a man could not have his say. I had spent a third of my life traveling from the place of my birth to the North just to talk freely, to escape the pressure of fear. And now I was facing fear again."

Ibid., pp. 136 - 137.

"Dick, . . . the Party has decided that you are to accept this task."

"I was silent. I knew the meaning of what he had said. A decision was the highest injunction that a Communist could receive from his Party, and to break a decision was to break the effectiveness of the Party's ability to act. In principle I

"heartily agreed with this, for I knew that it was impossible for working people to forge instruments of political power until they had achieved unity of action. Oppressed for centuries, divided, hopeless, corrupted, misled, they were cynical--as I had once been--and the Communist method of unity had been found historically to be the only means of achieving discipline."

Ibid., p. 145.

"With the John Reed Clubs now dissolved, I was free of all Party relations. I avoided unit meetings for fear of being subjected to discipline. Occasionally, a Negro Communist -- defying the code that enjoined him to shun suspect elements -- came to my home and informed me of the current charges that Communists were bringing against one another. To my astonishment I heard that Buddy Nealon had branded me a 'smuggler of reaction.'"

Ibid., p. 140.

"I decided that my relationship with the Party was about over; I should have to leave it. The attacks were growing worse, and my refusal to react incited Nealon into coining more absurd phrases. I was termed a 'bastard intellectual,' an 'incipient Trotskyite'; it was claimed that I possessed an 'anti-leadership attitude' and that I was manifesting 'scrappism tendencies,' a phrase meaning that one has withdrawn from the struggle of life and considers oneself infallible."

Ibid., pp. 140 - 141.

"I wanted to be a Communist, but my kind of Communist."

Ibid., pp. 145 - 146.

"'You can't resign,' they told me."

"'What do you mean?' I demanded."

"'No one can resign from the Communist Party.'"

Ibid., p. 149.

"Then, suddenly, I understood. These were the secret, underground tactics of the political movement of the Communists under the czars of Old Russia! The Communist Party felt that it had to assassinate me morally merely because I did not want to be bound by its decisions."

Ibid., p. 149.

"I lay in bed that night and said to myself: 'I'll be for them, even though they are not for me.'"

Ibid., p. 158.

"The blindness of their limited lives--lives truncated and impoverished by the oppression they had suffered long before they had ever heard of Communism--made them think that I was with their enemies. American life had so corrupted their consciousness that they were unable to recognize their friends when they saw them. I knew that if they had held state power I should have been declared guilty of treason and my execution would have followed. And I knew that they felt, with all the strength of their black blindness, that they were right."

Ibid., p. 157.

"I went into the dark Chicago streets and walked home through the cold, filled with a sense of sadness. Once again I told myself that I must learn to stand alone. I did not feel so wounded by their rejection of me that I wanted to spend my days bleating about what they had done. Perhaps what I had already learned to feel in my childhood saved me from that futile path."

Ibid., pp. 157 - 158.

"There's Wright, that goddamn Trotskyite!"
"We know you, you--!"
"Wright's a traitor!"

"Hands lifted me bodily from the sidewalk; I felt myself being pitched headlong through the air. I saved myself from landing on my head by clutching a curbstone with my hands. Slowly I rose and stood. Perry and his assistant were glaring at me. The rows of white and black Communists were looking at me with cold eyes of nonrecognition. I could not quite believe what had happened, even though my hands were smarting and bleeding. I had suffered a public, physical assault by two white Communists with black Communists looking on."

Ibid., pp. 159, 161.

"I headed toward home alone, really alone now, telling myself that in all the sprawling immensity of our mighty continent the least-known factor of living was the human heart, the least-sought goal of being was a way to live a human life. Perhaps, I thought, out of my tortured feelings I could fling a spark into this darkness. I would try, not because I wanted to, but because I felt that I had to if I were to live at all.

"I would hurl words into this darkness and wait for an echo; and if an echo sounded, no matter how faintly, I would send other words to tell, to march, to fight, to create a sense of the hunger for life that gnaws in us all, to keep alive in our hearts a sense of the inexpressibly human."

Ibid., p. 162.

ANDRE GIDE

This person was born in November of 1869 at Paris, France. He possessed wealth and never did have to work for a living. As is well-known, Gide became one of France's leading literary figures. While not a "card-carrying" Communist, he did identify himself with its ideology for a time. His trip to Russia in 1936 disillusioned Gide. He is the author of numerous works, the best known probably being the "Journal."

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED ANDRE GIDE IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"Why do I long for Communism? Because I believe it to be equitable and because I suffer on account of the injustices which I feel more strongly than ever when it is I myself who am favored. Because the regime under which we live does not seem to me to protect men from the most grievous abuses. Because amongst conservatives I see only dead or dying things. Because it seems to me absurd to cling to things which have had their day. Because I believe in progress; because I prefer what is to be to what has ceased to exist. Why do I long for Communism? Because I believe that through it we shall be able to reach the highest culture and because it is Communism which can--indeed must--promote a new and better form of civilization."

Andre Gide in The God That Failed, p. 168.

"On the high road of history on which each country, each nation, must sooner or later travel, the Soviet Union has taken the lead in a glorious manner. She gives us today an example of the new society of which we dreamed but for which we no longer dared hope. In the realm of the intellect it is important that the Soviet Union should give a good example; she owes it to herself to prove to us that the Communist ideal is not--as her enemies are always pleased to claim--an anthill Utopia."

Ibid., p. 169.

"It is not Marx who brought me to Communism-- I have made strenuous efforts to read him, but in vain; I persevere, but it is certainly not his theory which won me over. What brought me to Communism with my whole heart was the fact of the privileged position which I personally enjoy-- that seemed to me preposterous and intolerable."

Ibid., p. 170.

"My conversion is like a faith. My whole being is bent towards one single goal, all my thoughts-- even involuntary--lead me back to it. In the deplorable state of distress of the modern world, the plan of the Soviet Union seems to me to point to salvation. Everything persuades me of this. The wretched arguments of my opponents, far from convincing me, make me indignant. And if my life were necessary to assure the success of the Soviet Union, I would gladly give it immediately."

Ibid., p. 173.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED
ANDRE GIDE AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"There was in my Soviet adventure something tragic. I had arrived there a convinced and enthusiastic follower in order to admire a new world, and they offered me, to tempt me and win me, all the prerogatives and privileges which I abhorred in the old world."

Ibid., p. 173.

"Believe, obey and fight." . . . "These Italian inscriptions would have been equally in place on the walls of Moscow. The Communist spirit has ceased being in opposition to the Fascist spirit, or even differentiating itself from it."

Ibid., p. 171.

"I admired particularly in Russia the extraordinary impulse toward education and culture. But the sad thing is that the education the people receive only informs them on what leads them to flatter themselves on the present state of affairs and to believe in the Soviet Union Ave Spes Unica. Culture is directed toward one aim only, the glorification of the Soviet Union; it is not disinterested, and critical discrimination is entirely lacking."

Ibid., pp. 180 - 181.

"I know well that they make a parade of self-criticism and, at first, I believed and hoped in that, thinking that it might lead to great results if it was applied with integrity; but I soon discovered that criticism consists solely in inquiring whether such or such a work is in agreement with the Party line. It is not the Party line which is discussed or criticized, but only the question whether a certain theory tallies or not with this sacred line. No state of mind is more dangerous than this, nor more likely to imperil real culture."

Ibid., p. 181.

"Soviet citizens remain in the most complete ignorance of everything outside their own country and--what is worse--have been persuaded that everything abroad is vastly inferior to everything "at home."

Ibid., p. 181.

"Some years ago I wrote of my love and admiration for the Soviet Union, where an unprecedented experiment was being attempted, the thought of which inflamed my heart with expectation and from which I hoped a tremendous advance, an impulse capable of sweeping along the whole of humanity."

Ibid., p. 176.

"When I escaped from officials and went amongst the workers, I discovered that most of them lived in the direst poverty, while I was offered a ceremonial banquet every evening..."

Ibid., p. 179.

"The disappearance of capitalism has not brought freedom to the Soviet workers--it is essential that the proletariat abroad should realize this fully."

Ibid., p. 183.

"Although the long-heralded Dictatorship of the Proletariat had not materialized, there is nevertheless dictatorship of one kind--dictatorship of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is essential to recognize this and not to allow oneself to be bamboozled."

Ibid., p. 184.

"I know well that in Marxist doctrine there is no such thing as truth--at least not in any absolute sense--there is only relative truth."

Ibid., p. 185.

"The unfortunate Soviet worker is tied to his factory--just as the agricultural worker is tied to his collective--like Ixion to his wheel."

Ibid., p. 185.

"To think for oneself is to run the risk of being accused of being counter-revolutionary, and then--if one is a Party member--one is expelled and there follows the probability of Siberia."

Ibid., p. 186.

"Humanity is complex and not all of a piece--that must be accepted--and every attempt at simplification and regimentation, every effort from the outside to reduce everything and every one to the same common denominator, will always be reprehensible, pernicious and dangerous."

Ibid., p. 188.

"...what I complain of is the extent of their bluff, that they boasted that the situation in the Soviet Union was desirable and enviable--this from the country of my hopes and trust was painful to me.

"I blame the Communists in France--and elsewhere too-- and I do not mean those who were duped in all good faith, but those who knew--or ought to have known--better, and yet lied to the workers abroad while all the time seeking political aims. It is time that the workers outside the Soviet Union should realize that they have been bamboozled and led astray by the Communist Party, just as the Russian workers were duped before them."

Ibid., p. 195.

"Deplorable and unsatisfactory as the state of affairs in the Soviet Union is, I would have remained silent if I could have been assured of any faint progress toward something better. It is because I have reached the firm conviction that the Soviet Union is sliding down the slope that I had hoped to see it ascend, and because it has abandoned, one after another--and always for the most specious reasons--the liberties gained... It is because I see it dragging in its wake to irreparable chaos the Communist Parties of other countries, that I consider it my duty to speak openly."

Ibid., p. 195.

LOUIS FISCHER

This person was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on February 29, 1896. For a time he worked as a school teacher, leaving this profession to become a journalist in Europe. While not a "card-carrying" Communist, he did move in the direction of its ideology and was a strong supporter of Soviet Russia and Republican Spain, eventually breaking with both in 1939 at the time of the German-Russian Pact. Fischer is the author of various books.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED LOUIS

FISCHER IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"My new attitude toward the War and the peace made me receptive to Bolshevik criticism of the West. Moscow denounced annexations and reparations, and warned that they were the seeds of another war..."

"Meantime I kept hearing and reading about Soviet Russia. The Bolsheviks glorified the common man and offered him land, bread, peace, a job, a house, security, education, health, art, and happiness. They championed international brotherhood. They would abolish racial discrimination, exploitation, inequality, the power of wealth, the rights of kings, the lust for territory. They proudly liberated Poland, Finland and the Baltic countries from Russia's rule. They renounced the Czar's special privileges in China and his spheres of influence--with its oil concession--in Persia. The oppressed of the world, and the friends of the oppressed, accordingly saw Soviet Russia as the herald of a new era."

Louis Fischer, in The God That Failed, pp. 197, 199.

"For the first time, a government undertook to fulfill the dreams of the reformers, iconoclasts, and pioneers of all ages. A thrill shot through

"humanity. Fear shook the upholders of privilege, tradition, militarism, empire, white supremacy, and the status quo; their fear spurred others' hope.

"The unique appeal of the Bolshevik Revolution was its universality. It did not propose merely to introduce drastic change in Russia. It envisaged the world-wide abolition of war, poverty and suffering. In all countries, therefore, the little man, the laborer, and the intellectual felt that something important had taken place in their lives when revolution took root in Russia. Actually, this general sympathy stemmed more from discontent with conditions in their own countries than from knowledge of conditions inside Russia."

Ibid., pp. 199-200.

"Before long, I realized that my choice was made. A choice depends on the available alternative to it. I preferred fresh sweeping winds to stale stagnant air, and well-intentioned pioneers to proved failures. I liked the Soviets because they were an experiment in the interest of the down-trodden majority, because they destroyed the privileges of the powerful few, because they were weak, and because the world's conservatives and reactionaries opposed them. All these preferences and likes arose from a temperamental predisposition which, almost imperceptibly, soon made me a partisan of the Soviet Union."

Ibid., p. 203.

"The Soviet promise stimulated my imagination.... Russia's ugly past and her plans for the beautiful future shaped every judgment of the present. The future was Bolshevik capital. The Bolsheviks offered to sell everybody a share in it."

Ibid., p. 205.

"...I turned to Soviet Russia because I thought it had the solution of the problem of power. Science places ever-growing power at the disposal of man and he does not know what to do with it. The twentieth century's biggest problem is the control of personal, group, and national power."

Ibid., p. 226.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED

LOUIS FISCHER AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"Everything in me rebelled against the fawning adulation and saccharine glorification of Joseph Stalin."

Ibid., p. 210.

"In the highest rank as well as in the lowest, fear rather than thought, self-interest rather than public welfare was the father of every word and deed."

Ibid., p. 212.

"The cautious, calculating, submissive, nervous time-servers in the apparatus of the government, Party, and trade unions, watched their step, looked over their shoulders, loudly professed loyalty, monotonously repeated the official propaganda and, for solace, tried to eat, drink, dance and, in general, live as luxuriously as the relaxed material standards permitted."

Ibid., p. 212.

"The Bolshevik regime represented a revolt against the ugly material, cultural, and psychological heritage of Czarism....The fact that Bolshevism

"would want to drink at the mouldy wells of Czarism shocked and repelled me."

Ibid., p. 215.

"Then came the Soviet-Nazi Pact of August 23, 1939, which committed the Soviet government to the course it has pursued from that day to this. The pact produced my "Kronstadt." The pact was an agreement not to gain time but to gain territory. In secret protocols, now published, it provided for a spheres-of-influence division of the areas accessible to Soviet-Nazi aggression. Therewith commenced Russia's planned aggression which gave her today's creaking empire and made her mankind's worst problem."

Ibid., pp. 221 - 222.

"The Soviet-Nazi Pact was the gravestone of Bolshevik internationalism and the cornerstone of Bolshevik imperialism."

Ibid., p. 222.

"No dictatorship is a democracy and none contains the seeds of liberty."

Ibid., p. 224.

"EVERY COMMUNIST IS A POTENTIAL ANTI-COMMUNIST AND SHOULD BE WOED."**

Ibid., p. 227.

* By this Fischer means his break with Communism.

** The original is not capitalized. It is done here for emphasis.

STEPHEN SPENDER

This person is an Englishman born in 1909 of the well-known Liberal author, Edward Harold Spender. He was educated in both England and Switzerland. He writes poetry and other forms of literature. He was a member of the Communist Party of Britain for a short time in 1936-1937. He was engaged in 1946 to make a study of the impact of Nazism on German intellectuals by the Political Intelligence Branch of the Foreign Office.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED STEPHEN SPENDER IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"My sense of the equality of men was based not so much on an awareness of the masses as on loneliness. I can remember lying awake at night thinking of this human condition in which everyone living, without the asking, is thrust upon the earth, where he is enclosed within himself, a stranger to the rest of humanity, needing love and facing his own death."

Stephen Spender in The God That Failed, p. 231.

"When I was sixteen, at the London day school to which I went, I came in contact with a master and one or two boys who were Socialists. The master had been in the war, belonged to the 1917 Club, and read the Daily Herald. According to him, Socialism was not a reign of terror and unreason. It meant nationalizing industries so that they produced goods and wealth which belonged to all the people in a country, instead of to a few, removing the competitive system based on profit which led to international rivalry in trade and hence to war, and giving all children of all classes equal opportunity. This corresponded to my primitive idea of social justice."

Ibid., p. 232.

"A friend, whom Isherwood in his autobiographical sketch Lions and Shadows calls Chalmers, came to Berlin and one day Christopher invited me to meet him. Chalmers, who had recently joined the Communist Party, had been on an Intourist tour of Russia, lasting a few days, and was visiting Berlin on his return from Moscow. It was not long before we discussed Communism. 'History' to Chalmers was, of course, the workers' revolution, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the establishment of Communism, which would abolish all the evils of the present and finally establish a free world. Chalmers had a sincere vision of that world, and he decidedly wished for the happiness of mankind. But he was impervious to the injustices and cruelties which 'history' produced on its way. His mind was so entirely fixed on the future that what happened in the present was, I believe, a matter of as complete indifference to him, as the fate of the people who perished in the Lisbon earthquake two hundred years ago. He lived in the future, and for him the present belonged to a grim pre-revolutionary past. What Chalmers demanded of himself and of others who put themselves 'on the side of history' was that they should identify all their thoughts and actions with the processes which would produce the classless society. He wished to submit the present absolutely to a course of action dictated by the future. Part of our discussion was about the novel. Chalmers, like a great many Communist writers, found that being a Communist cut the ground of his experience from under his feet, leaving him only with a theory of revolution. Chalmers admitted these difficulties freely. And theorizing, he said: "I do not think the novel with a working-class hero and wicked capitalists is the best kind of Communist novel. A better kind might well be one in which the capitalist characters were sympathetic people of good will, and the Communists embittered and unsympathetic. But the novel would make the point that the unsympathetic Communists are right and the middle-class characters of good will wrong. Of course I admit that the Party would not welcome a book

"of this kind." Chalmers' idea for a novel with unsympathetic Communists who justify the cause of historic development against well-meaning but historically wrong capitalists, is a parable illustrating very exactly the position of the intellectual Communist. He puts his faith in an automatism of history which even if it is achieved by bad men by bad means will eventually make men good, just as the system of capitalism automatically turns all good aims into channels of war and destruction."

Ibid., p. 234 - 237.

"He combined a belief in the inexorable Marxist development of history with mystical confidence in the workers. . . .

"It is obvious that there were elements of mysticism in this faith. Indeed, I think that this is an attraction of Communism for the intellectual. To believe in political action and economic forces which will release new energies in the world is a release of energy in oneself. One ceases to be inhibited by pity for the victims of revolution. Indeed one can regard pity as a projection of one's own revolutionary wish to evade the issue of revolution. One can retain one's faith in the ultimate goals of humanity and at the same time ignore the thousands of people in prison camps, the tens of thousands of slave workers. Do these exist? Whether or not they do, it is bourgeois propaganda to maintain so. Therefore, one must deny that there are any slave camps in Russia. These lives have become abstractions in an argument in which the present is the struggle, and the future is Communism--a world where everyone will, eventually, be free. If one admits to oneself the existence of the prison camps, one can view them as inevitable sacrifices demanded by the good cause. It is 'humanitarian' weakness to think too much about the victims. The point is to fix one's eyes on the goal, and then one is freed from the horror and anxiety--quite useless in any case--which inhibit the energies of the liberal mind. . . .

Ibid., pp. 237 - 238.

"I felt very unsure of myself with Chalmers as I confessed to my dislike of violence, my attachment to freedom of self-expression, my wish nevertheless for revolutionary changes which would produce a socially just international society without destroying the liberty of the individual. He took his pipe out of his mouth and said with friendly terseness: 'Gandhi!'

"I had spoken of the League of Nations. Chalmers explained how idealism of the kind embodied in the League could do nothing to prevent wars. The League was a society of imperialist powers determined to use it as a principle for protecting, if not extending, their own sovereignties. The nations which used the League were themselves the instruments of the armaments interests. The League was in effect an alliance directed against Russia. 'Under the present system all talk about disarmament is nonsense!'

Ibid., p. 235 - 236.

"The seeds which Chalmers had planted in my mind were his condemnation of the League of Nations and the criticism he had implied in saying that I was a follower of Gandhi.

"He left me to reflect during the coming months that almost all public actions and many private and personal ones were of two kinds: those for, and those against the Revolution."

Ibid., p. 239.

"For the intellectual of good will, Communism is a struggle of conscience. To understand this, explains many things. Amongst others, that Communists, who act in ways which may seem to the non-Communist unscrupulous, may nevertheless be perfectly sincere. Such Communists are like ships doubly anchored fore and aft, amid crosscurrents which swing all other crafts. The two anchors are: the fixed vision of the

"evils done by capitalism, and the equally fixed vision of the classless society of the future. Crosstides disturbing liberal consciences are scruples about the methods necessary to achieve the ends of Communism and awareness of events such as the suffering of thousands of people who do not happen to be Communists.

"This doubly secured Communist conscience also explains the penitential, confessional attitude which non-Communists may sometimes show towards orthodox Communists with their consciences anchored--if not petrified--in historic materialism. There is something overpowering about the fixed conscience. There is a certain compulsion in the situation of the Communist with his faith reprobating the liberal whose conscience swings from example to example, misgiving to misgiving, supporting here the freedom of some writer outside the Writers' Syndicate, some socially-conscienceless surrealist perhaps, here a Catholic priest, here a liberal professor in jail. What power there is in a conscience which reproaches us not only for vices and weaknesses but also for virtues, such as pity for the oppressed, if they happen to be the wrong oppressed, or love for a friend, if he is not a good Party member. A conscience which tells us that by taking up a certain political position today we can attain a massive, granite-like superiority over our own whole past, without being humble or simple or guilty, but simply by virtue of converting the whole of our personality into raw material for the use of the Party machine. How easy to affirm that liberal scruples, well-meaning though they may be, ignore the ultimate social good of all, to argue that they are really little outposts of the defense of the bourgeoisie, and that the man of good will may be defending the forces which have produced the worst calamities of the modern world."

Ibid., pp. 240 - 241.

"Moreover, if Communism produces victims, capitalism produces far more. What are the millions of unemployed in peacetime, the millions killed in wars,

"but the victims of capitalist competition? Capitalism is a system based on victimization, in which the number of victims increases all the time. Communism is a system in which, theoretically--when all are Communists in a classless society--there will be no victims. Its victims today are the victims not of Communism but of revolution. When revolution has succeeded and when the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has 'withered away,' there will be a decreasing number of victims. For Communism does not need exploited classes of people. It needs only cooperation of all men to make a better world. During the early years of the 1930's I used to argue with myself in this way. My arguments were re-enforced by feelings of guilt and the suspicion that the side of me which pitied the victims of revolution secretly supported the ills of capitalism from which I myself benefited."

Ibid., p. 238.

"Even a liberal like E. M. Forster wrote at this time that Communism was the only political creed which offered hope for the future, although he added that he himself would not be a Communist. Soon the intellectual life of the 1930's turned into a debate about Ends and Means....

"The climax of the 1930's was undoubtedly the Spanish Civil War....Spain became a theater where the drama of the struggle of Fascism and anti-Fascism was enacted. The intervention of Mussolini and Hitler, followed by that of Russia, and then by the enrollment of the International Brigade, made the Spanish War, for the time being, the center of the struggle for the soul of Europe."

Ibid., pp. 243, 244.

"The slump of the 1930's the catastrophe of the Weimar Republic, the fall of Socialist Vienna, all of them events which I witnessed more or less from the outside, had forced me to accept a theoretically Communist position. In poems,

"and in Forward from Liberalism, I had stated Communism as an intellectual and emotional necessity. Pollitt's appeal to me to help in Spain pushed me momentarily over into the Communist Party."

Ibid., p. 247.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED
STEPHEN SPENDER AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"...it was Spain which involved me in my first practical experience of working politically with other people. This action which had first made me a Party member also took me beyond and outside the Party. For I soon began to realize that even if the directing and organizing force behind the support for the Spanish Republic was Communist, the real energy of the Popular Front was provided by those who had a passion for liberal values. Even the Communists realized that what made Spain an action and a symbol in this century as important as 1848 in the last, was the very fact that the Republic was not Communist. Indeed, the Communists while trying to exploit the situation there were the very first to declare this and to deny indignantly that the Republic was Communist; but they did so because they thought to do so was good propaganda, while at the same time in their actions they were doing their best to belie their propaganda and to gain control in Spain itself. The liberals, the men of good will, even while they supported the Popular Front, were forced by their Communist allies into a struggle of conscience which caused a deep division amongst the supporters of the Republic. For the Communists, the Spanish War was a phase in their struggle for power. Being single-minded and fanatical, they were the driving force in the Popular Front, especially in Spain. Even so, they were also the force which held back all the other forces, forces ultimately

"more vital than themselves, because more complex and caring more for freedom and variety of expression. Almost the whole literature of the Spanish War depicts the energy of a reviving liberalism rather than the Communist orthodoxy which produced an increasingly deadening effect on all discussion of ideas, all witnessing of the complexity of events. The best books of the War--those by Malraux, Hemingway, Koestler and Orwell--describe the Spanish tragedy from the liberal point of view, and they bear witness against the Communists."

Ibid., pp. 247 - 248.

"During my second visit to Spain, I saw how the Communists had gained complete control of the International Brigade. It was recruited on the merits of the Popular Front of the Republic. The concentration into Communist hands of all the mixed democratic elements which made up the Brigade was, on a small scale, the model of the Communist method in Spain. Within the Republican Army this policy was to call upon the parties to form one army in which all the formations of the political groups were merged, and then, having taken the lead in this way, gain control of the Army."

Ibid., p. 248.

"In the International Brigade personal tragedies arose from the domination of the Communists."

Ibid., p. 248.

"When I returned to England, I wrote an article, which was published in the New Statesman, protesting against the propaganda which enrolled young men in the International Brigade without it being explained to them that this was a Communist-controlled organization. This article

"did not please the Communists." A few weeks later, in Valencia, I met the correspondent of a Communist newspaper. He said that he had seen my article and that what I had written about Spain was true. He pointed out, though, that the important thing was to write that which would best serve the ends of winning the war and of Communism."

Ibid., p. 248 - 249.

"Just as the pattern of Communist behavior in the Brigade was followed by the Communists within the Republic, so was the pattern of propaganda. Thus, there was an atrocity propaganda which attributed all murders to the Francoists and depicted Republicans as angels, denouncing as 'Fascists' those who suggested that some atrocities had been committed by the Republicans."

Ibid., p. 249.

"At this time I came to a conclusion which, although it may appear obvious, was important to the development of my thinking about politics. This was simply that nearly all human beings have an extremely intermittent grasp on reality. Only a few things, which illustrate their own interests and ideas, are real to them; other things, which are in fact equally real, appear to them as abstractions. Thus, when men have decided to pursue a course of action, everything which serves to support this seems vivid and real; everything which stands against it becomes abstraction. Your friends are allies and therefore real human beings with flesh and blood and sympathies like yourself. Your opponents are just tiresome, unreasonable, unnecessary theses..."

Ibid., p. 253.

"Not to think in this way demands the most exceptional qualities of judicious-mindedness or of high imaginative understanding. During

"the Spanish War it dismayed me to notice that I thought like this myself. When I saw photographs of children murdered by the Fascists, I felt furious pity. When the supporters of Franco talked of Red atrocities, I merely felt indignant that people should tell such lies. In the first case I saw corpses, in the second only words. However, I never learned to be unself-critical, and thus I gradually acquired a certain horror of the way in which my own mind worked. It was clear to me that unless I cared about every murdered child impartially, I did not really care about children being murdered at all. I was performing an obscene mental act on certain corpses which became the fuel for propagandist passions, but I showed my fundamental indifference by not caring about those other corpses who were the victims of the Republicans."

Ibid. pp. 253 - 254.

"If I am correct in thinking that human beings have a tendency to think abstractly, and without weighing the human realities which are operated on by their political passions, the mentality of Communists is not very difficult to explain. They have adopted a theory of society which encourages a human vice; to regard their own cause and their own supporters as real, and all other causes and their exponents as abstract examples of outmoded theoretical positions."

Ibid., p. 254.

"It may be maintained that the theory justifies the vice because Communism is bound ultimately to increase the quantity and quality of human happiness. During these years I gradually decided that I did not think so, for the reason that the self-righteousness of people who believe that their 'line' is completely identifiable with the welfare of humanity and the course of history, so that everyone outside it exists only to be refuted.

"or absorbed into the line, results in a dehumanization of the Communists themselves. Human history is made by people acting upon principles, not on principles regardless of the quality of the people. If the principles dehumanize men, then the society which these men make is dehumanized. . . . I think that power is only saved from corruption if it is humanized with humility. Without humility, power is turned to persecutions and executions and public lies."

Ibid., pp. 254. - 255.

"I could not help noticing with myself and my colleagues that the encouragement amongst us of the vice of thinking that there was only one human cause and one human side had a bad effect on our personalities. It taught us to exploit suffering for our own purposes, and to ignore it when it did not serve these. It encouraged us to form a partial and incomplete picture of conflicts, and discouraged us from correcting this picture in the light of immediate experience if this conflicted with our theoretical views."

Ibid., p. 255.

"With the Communist intellectuals I was always confronted by the fact that they had made a calculation when they became Communists which had changed the whole of reality for them into the crudest black and white. In day-to-day living every factor which they confronted could not affect the huge abstract calculation in their minds. The Revolution was the beginning and the end, the sum of all sums. Someday, somewhere, everything would add up to the happy total which was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and a Communist society. This way of thinking canceled out all experiential objections.

"Thus the intellectual Communists seemed extremely interested in theory, very little in evidence which might conflict with theory. For example, I

"never met any who had the slightest interest in any side of Russia which was not the Stalinist propagandist presentation."

Ibid., p. 255.

"The same disregard for scrupulousness in anything but theory applied to behavior. The ends justified the means."

Ibid., p. 255.

"In Hitler's Germany, the scientists lent themselves to schemes for sterilizing and destroying the mentally unfit, for exterminating whole populations, for using human beings as the subjects for experiments. A friend of mine, himself a scientist who went to Germany after the War to study the activities of German scientists, told us that what shocked him most was to discover that when human beings were made available to German scientists for experimental purposes, they used them with ruthless extravagance, often to make experiments which were completely unnecessary. I am not suggesting that scientists elsewhere would do the same thing. But it is necessary to point out that scientists can derive from science qua science no objections to such experiments as exterminating the mentally unfit. If they do object, they are acting upon non-scientific values. Modern science has produced no reason to prevent science from being directed by governments toward purposes of enormous destruction in every country. Science is simply an instrument, for good or for bad. For it to be directed toward good, whoever directs it must have some conception of humanity wider than that of a planned scientific society. There must be a purpose in society beyond good planning. Without such a purpose, to submit society to a dictatorship for the purpose of planned science is simply to lay down the lines for another misuse of science. For in Russia it is the politicians who plan the science."

"Thus when people like Bernal, Haldane and Joliot-Curie become Communists, I am skeptical of their having any motive except a blind faith in the

"instrument of science. But this instrument has no moral purpose, and when scientists are in favor of its being put into the hands of politicians who imprison their political opponents, and who even go so far as to persecute scientists whose researches show a tendency to produce results inconsistent with the political views of the State, then we may say that these Communist scientists are victims of a kind of moral blindness which has long characterized science."

Ibid., pp. 259 - 260.

"I do not say all this to denigrate scientists such as Haldane and Bernal, but simply to indicate that it is wrong to think that scientists show the same qualities of detachment and considerateness in their social attitudes as they do in the laboratory. They are as liable as anyone else to be carried away by their emotions; and planned societies offer them special temptations."

Ibid., p. 259.

"During the 1930's I observed my Communist colleagues. I admired their courage and I did not suspect them of self-interest. They had sacrificed a great deal, and were prepared to sacrifice more, for the sake of a cause in which they profoundly believed. But apart from this courage and sacrifice, it seemed often that their best qualities had been put to the service of their worst, and their personalities destroyed. They believed in making the poor militant, but not in loving their neighbors. Truth for them was a slave which waited on the convenience of a small inner circle of leaders. They accepted hatred as the mainspring of action. They distorted the meanings of epithets which they applied to nations, parties and individuals without the slightest realization that to misuse words produces confusion. 'Peace' in their language could mean 'War'; 'War' -- 'Peace'; 'Unity' -- 'betrayal from within'; 'Fascism' -- 'Socialism.'

"Apart from the necessity of serving the Party, they were under no obligation to discipline vanity, malice, officiousness and treachery in themselves. Indeed, these things might well become virtues if they were useful to the Party.

"Often I found that a human and sympathetic Communist was a bad Communist to the extent that he was human and sympathetic, and that he was well aware of this himself."

Ibid., pp. 260 - 261.

"During these years I came to realize that Communists are divided, roughly, into four categories: (A) The theoreticians who know in an abstract and general way the methods they are using, but who think of these abstractly as 'necessity.' (B) Those who are completely and happily deluded about Russia and about the methods employed by their comrades. (C) The workers who have nothing to lose except their chains, who are fighting against capitalist exploitation and for whom bread is more important than freedom. (D) The police, political commissars, agents, spies, etc. These last are perhaps the only Communists who know, with any completeness, the facts about prison camps and trials."

Ibid., p. 261.

"When I joined the Communist Party, I expected that in doing so I would get to know what the Communists were doing; that I would be able to measure their means against the methods of capitalism; and that I would learn to accept the relationship of means to ends.

"I had not expected to find that the actions of the Communists in Russia and in Spain were denied by the Communists amongst themselves. Or possibly, that they were completely ignorant of them."

Ibid., pp. 261 - 262.

"I began to wonder how much Communists know about Communism. I still wonder....

"The members of the Party know less than outsiders imagine about actual conditions in Communist-dominated countries. However, they do know about certain principles of dictatorship, because these are part of their ideology. Thus when I met M. Rakesi, the Communist Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary in 1947, almost the first remark he made to me was that the British Labor Government was 'Fascist.' When I asked him what he meant by this, he said: 'For two reasons. Firstly, they have not filled the British Army with Socialist generals. Secondly, they have not taken over Scotland Yard.'"

Ibid., p. 264.

"However, even on the assumption that world revolution could be achieved and a Communist political and economic system be established throughout the world, the culture and well-being of the new classless society would depend on one further assumption: that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat would 'wither away.'"

"Now one of the lessons of the last thirty years has certainly been that a dictatorship established in the modern world, with all the modern resources of secret police, propaganda, terror, etc. is extremely difficult to remove. Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and Franco have none of them been seriously threatened by revolt within their own countries.... It seems reasonable to think then that a world dictatorship would be the most immovable dictatorship of all. Nor, in the light of Russian experience, can one believe that Communism or any other party would produce dictators, bureaucrats and police who were willing to 'wither away.'"

Ibid., pp. 265, 266.

"I listened with disgust to the dogmatic crowding of inferior talents. There was something degrading about the assumption that a political theory of society could place him who held it in a position where he could reject the insights of genius, unless these proved to be, after all, applications of a political theory to aesthetic material.

"I felt scarcely less revulsion for that extensive Marxist literary criticism which interprets literature as myths consciously or unconsciously invented by writers to serve the interests of some historically ascendant class."

Ibid., p. 267.

"But in the midst of this folly, let me not lose sight of the main issue. Perhaps violence, concentration camps, the perversion of the sciences and the arts are justified if these methods result eventually in making the classless society. This is the argument which I have always had in mind, an argument of such weight that if it were true it would make objections to a Communism which could really create a just international society, trivial.

"My conclusion is, though, that the Communist Parties of the world, as they are organized today, could not make a better world. They might even make a far worse one. The reason why I think this is that too much power is concentrated in the hands of too few people. These few people are so protected from criticism of their conduct on any except Party lines, that neither they themselves, nor anyone else is protected from their worst human qualities: savagery, vindictiveness, envy, greed and lust for power.

"Because I do not believe that the central organizations of the Communists are capable of making a classless society, or indeed of doing anything except establish the rule of a peculiarly vindictive and jealous bureaucracy, I do not feel that I should surrender my own judgment to theirs, however powerful and effective theirs may be, however ineffective my own.

"The Communists represent a degree of centralization on a scale never known until now. The political Party--which is the only political party--is itself centralized, and dependent on the directives of a few men."

Ibid., pp. 269 - 270.

DOUGLAS HYDE

This person was a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain for twenty years, five of which were spent as news editor for the London Daily Worker. On March 14, 1948 he rejected Communism officially as he was convinced of its unsoundness and was equally convinced of the truth of Christianity which he accepted as a philosophy of life.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED DOUGLAS HYDE IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"...it seems to me that those who have seen Communists only as political adventurers or power-crazy morons tend to help the very cause they wish to destroy.

"Life is so much more complex, and so are men's motives. I would say that the majority who come to communism do so because, in the first instance, they are subconsciously looking for a cause that will fill the void left by unbelief, or, as in my own case, an insecurely held belief that is failing to satisfy them intellectually and spiritually."

I Believed by Douglas Hyde
G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York,
1950, p. 299.

"There were plenty of things in the Communist Party of 1928 to appeal to a thoughtful youth possessed of his full share of idealism. I was interested in India—the Indian nationalist movement was capturing the imagination of quite a lot of people on both sides of the Atlantic—and the Communist Party in Great Britain was fighting for the Indian people's independence."

"From Marx to Christ" by Douglas Hyde in The Road To Damascus, Edited by John A. O'Brien, Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York, 1949, p. 162.

"I wanted to identify myself with the poor, the downtrodden, the victimized and persecuted. The Communist Party appeared to me to fight for all these."

Ibid., p. 162.

"Like most youths, I wanted to break free from convention--and the Communist Party was certainly unconventional."

Ibid., p. 162.

"I wanted a new world, and the Communists had one to offer."

Ibid., p. 162.

"I was attracted by these people who, in a world which appeared to be drifting along, knew exactly where they were going and how they were going to get there."

Ibid., p. 162.

"It was exciting to learn that the Russian Revolution, about which as a tiny child I had heard horrific stories, was, despite what the spoon-fed public believed, the great hope of the world."

Ibid., p. 162.

"It was exciting, too, learning that all the old habits of thought must be thrown overboard; that the old preoccupation with right and wrong was simply cant; that only what served the class struggle really mattered and by this all things could be judged."

Ibid., pp. 162 - 163.

"There was a brand-new, complete, and, it appeared, wholly satisfying philosophy of life to be acquired; abstruse economic theories to be studied, and action, positive action, action without ceasing, on behalf of the cause."

Ibid., p. 163.

"The U. S. S. R's corrupt deal with Nazi Germany seemed only a clever piece of military and political expediency (although it lost the Party some of its intellectuals at the time), and since expediency or inexpediency, and not right or wrong, is the Marxist test, there was nothing surprising in this. To support the war we had formerly opposed was natural enough when Russia was attacked. It might mean the postponement of a showdown farther West, but now it was a question of defending the one strong point in the hands of the international revolutionary working class. And if Russia won, then new opportunities might arise.

"So every Communist assisted Russia in every possible way. In industry it meant harder work, increased production; in the forces, impatience to go into action in Europe; at home, a great agitation for the opening of a second front. That is the way Communists as a body must always be expected to behave where Russian interests are involved.

"Under the circumstances, Soviet spy rings are almost an extravagance, for every Communist feels a greater loyalty to Russia as the focal point of the revolution than to anything else and will quite naturally act on Russia's behalf no matter what his work or what his responsibilities."

Ibid. p. 165.

"Quite briefly and simply this is how I reasoned and how hundreds of thousands of others, trained in Marxism, in all parts of the world still reason:

"Communism is necessary and desirable above all else. The fight for communism stretches across the world, which is divided horizontally by the two opposing classes and not vertically by different races and nations. In fighting for a Communist Britain I am fighting for a better Britain and for the destruction of all that is rotten and decadent. In that fight I have the assistance of all who are operating on the same world front against capitalism. My desire to make my country Communist therefore makes me an internationalist.

"But at one point in that world front there is a whole nation on my side, a great State, the U. S. S. R., where a strong point has been established and around which all future battles will tend to turn and without which any other, local victories must fail. At all costs, therefore, Russia, bastion of communism, must be defended. The defeat of the U. S. S. R. would mean the end of any chance of world communism for generations.

"Therefore, in order to get my Communist Britain I must at all costs work to assist the continued survival of the Socialist sixth of the world. Who attacks Russia attacks my hope of a Communist Britain. In helping Russia 'with all the means at his disposal and at any price' the British Communist is working, therefore, for a better Britain, the French Communist for a better France and the Icelandic Communist for a better Iceland. He is, in his own eyes and that of his Party the superpatriot. The need is for Russia at all costs to survive, and anything, anything at all, that contributes to this is permissible.

"The Soviet-German Pact, therefore, in August, 1939, did not trouble the trained Marxist at all. The Soviet leaders had a responsibility to the working class of the world to defend the U. S. S. R. and could, if necessary, for this reason make an alliance with the devil himself. The rawer rank and file may have his doubts and difficulties at such moments but not the well-instructed Marxist."

I Believe by Douglas Hyde,
pp. 71-72.

"Somewhere I discovered a curious Communist poem which I illuminated in Gothic lettering. Its text was blasphemous, and I embodied in the initial letter a portrayal of the crucified Christ. It read: 'Goodbye Christ. You did alright in your day, I reckon. Make way for a new guy now with no religion at all... Marx, Communist, Lenin, Peasant, Stalin, Worker, Me--I said ME.'"

"...it summed up my faith."

Ibid., p. 56.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED DOUGLAS HYDE
AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"Political disillusionment and sanctifying grace have contributed to change me from an almost lifelong Communist to a Catholic. For twenty years I had been an active member of the Communist Party, from the time I was just under eighteen years of age, in fact. For eight years I had been an executive of the British Communist Party's only daily paper, the Daily Worker; for the last five I had been its news editor.

"I started out at the age of seventeen to study theology (I was to be a Methodist missionary in India), but before the year was out I had joined my first Communist organization. Now I am back full circle again, but this time as a Catholic."

"From Marx To Christ" by
Douglas Hyde, pp. 161, 162.

"Just when my own doubts and disillusionment began it is somewhat difficult to say."

Ibid., p. 165.

"My cultural interests had always been with the Middle Ages: in poetry, Chaucer and Langland, in architecture, Norman and Gothic; in music, plainsong and Gregorian chants. The Weekly Review brought home to me the fact that the Middle Ages were those when men still loved God and that that was the reason for the great outpouring of the human soul of that period....

"For a leading Communist writer to start thinking that way was absolute heresy, and I had to put my medievalism into a separate, watertight compartment of my mind in sheer self-defense....

"But the fact is that the seed was sown."

Ibid., p. 166.

"With the ending of the war my doubts grew. Russia's policy of intransigence at U. N., and at one conference after another, seemed at first to be but an expression of the usual hard bargaining one expects after wars, but soon it was clear that it was being driven to a point where, instead of uniting the human race, Communism was dividing it both horizontally and vertically."

Ibid., p. 167.

"When the Red Army went marching through eastern Europe into Germany, the countless dead they left behind inspired me--but the living who reached Berlin troubled me a lot. It was true that in the main they came from the less industrialized and therefore more backward parts of Russia, true, too, that many of the stories filtering back to Britain were obviously exaggerated. But those Red Army men, raping and looting like any other victorious army, took a lot of explaining away."

Ibid., pp. 166 - 167.

"Events in eastern Europe were extremely disturbing too. Having said for over a quarter of a century that Communism cannot be exported, it must be home-grown, Russia began busily to export it in a big way to the countries where the Red Army or the N. K. V. D. still had the last word."

Ibid., p. 167.

"I had started saying for the first time for many years, 'This thing is morally indefensible. That is utterly wrong.' Quite clearly I was losing my grip as a Marxist."

Ibid., p. 167.

"Then the Cominform was set up, and after some time the new line came through to the British Party leaders. We were to oppose the Marshall Plan and drop our support for increased production. Literally overnight the job we were doing was dropped; a new, exactly opposite campaign was started in its place. I knew then that it was only a matter of time before I made the final break."

Ibid., p. 168.

"Leaving the movement in which I had spent my adult life to date meant a big break--with friends and with a cause which was once my life. The death of Jan Masaryk made that break, I felt, urgent and necessary.

"There was a qualitative difference between Czechoslovakia and the rest of eastern Europe. The Czechs had enjoyed a high level of culture and a democratic system. There was no excuse for any form of police state in Czechoslovakia. Yet it came, despite the Czech Communist leaders' own attempts to find a new way which took account of their people's traditions. It came because any more democratic form of Communism would be a reproach to Rumania, Bulgaria, and the rest; so the Czech leaders were made to toe the line. Czechoslovakia was forced into the same Moscow-manufactured mold as the rest--a foretaste of what will happen in any other Western country which 'goes Communist.'"

Ibid., pp. 168-169.

"Communism has, in fact, become a gigantic hoax, a deliberate and total deception of the public."

I Believed by Douglas Hyde, p. 60.

"It is rarely that the Party's real aims are put clearly into words in that way. Even at top Party levels they normally talk in the language of the Party's public propaganda, while the real and concealed meaning is understood by all present who share the same knowledge of Marxist-Stalinist theory, jargon, and methods of thought."

Ibid., p. 252.

"When I first found myself in disagreement with the Party's foreign policy, our home policy was one I could still support and for that reason I carried on in my job as news editor since my main responsibility was to see that the home news was adequately covered. Our campaigns for increased production, I felt, were useful and were meeting with success. I was proud of the part I played in them.

"But the coming of the new line on production and opposition to the Marshall Plan meant that I lost my last point of agreement with the paper's policy. I do not think that anything could justify that change of policy in the light of the misery which the success of the new line would bring.

"For me it meant that I now neither believed in the paper's home or foreign campaigns."

Ibid., p. 288.

"Some or all of those things which attracted me attract the average Communist Party member too. They are by no means entirely bad in themselves, and those who join the Party are, many of them, good types brought in on the appeal of qualities equally good.

"The sin of the Fascists was that they organized the lowest and the worst on the behalf of a bad cause. The sin of the Communists, however, is a greater one; they take some of the most active and intelligent of the working class, the most promising of the intelligentsia, and pervert them; they take the best qualities which are in all too small a supply today and distort them, using them for ends which are evil."

"From Marx to Christ" by
Douglas Hyde, p. 163.

"I know from experience that many good people annually go into the Party. But after accepting an evil creed how can their lives fail to become evil, too? The 'steel-hardened cadre' is an artificial product; he is something made and molded by Marxism, often from some of the best materials, into something which is perhaps the most deadly thing on earth today. For the 'steel-hardened cadre' there are no spiritual values, no moral or ethical considerations. No human compassion influences his Marxist judgments; neither love nor pity nor patriotism has any room in his make up, nor has truth nor honor except within his immediate circle of comrades. Conscience has become something which prompts him to lie, to deceive, to betray. Communism has become an end in itself, and that end will always justify the means."

I Believed by Douglas Hyde,
p. 300.

"We had come to accept the intellectual case for God, to see that without it the universe itself made nonsense. We had discovered with some surprise that the great thinkers and philosophers of the Church had made out a better case for God's existence than Marx and Engels had done for His non-existence."

Ibid., p. 255.

"Communism is not, first and foremost, a social or political problem. It is a spiritual problem and only if we understand this shall we see why it has spread in this particular age and no other....

"Only in a pagan, faithless age was it possible for such a philosophy and way of life to spread to millions of men.

"The growth of Communism in our day proves, as nothing else could, that a deeply-held faith is fundamental to the very nature of man. Breed a generation the majority of whom have no deeply held religious beliefs, and, denied a good faith they will turn to a bad--even to the cold, hard religion of the Marxist no-God. And they will give to it the energy and devotion which a real religion might and should have claimed.

"Communism today gives men a sense of direction, a purpose in life, a cause to fight for, an ideal to sacrifice for and, if needs be, die for.

"It claims their zeal, their devotion, their loyalty. These are things which belong to religion. They belong to God. But in a pagan age the majority of those who become Communists have not even thought of Christianity as an alternative--although it is something very much more than that.

"Men today are hungry for a cause, starved for a faith in which to believe. They are frustrated by the apparent purposelessness of modern life. They lack a sense of direction. And so Communism appears to meet a fundamental need. It originates from unbelief and the frustration to which it gives rise.

"Unless they have a live and intelligently-held Christianity which offers them all this, men are left unsatisfied. Then the Communist comes along, and they are his easy victims. He is able to take their unsatisfied idealism, their willingness to give themselves to a cause, and to use these things for his own ends."

The Answer to Communism by
Douglas Hyde, Paternoster
Publications, Ltd., 67 Fleet
Street, London, England, p. 45.

"In the last resort I believe it is now a question of Christianity or Communism".

"From Marx To Christ" by
Douglas Hyde, p. 169.

"Communism uses the very poor in times of crisis or when a revolutionary situation develops. That is its main interest in them. That is their main usefulness to the cause of Communism. Social injustice is the thing upon which it feeds. It is not the originator of Communism.

"Or examine the thing in reverse. If poverty and insecurity (which is said to be more deadly than poverty itself) were the main cause of Communism then you would expect Communism to fail completely to influence those who are in secure and stable positions.

"Thousands of parents who persuade their children to take the Civil Service examination do so believing that in the Civil Service there is a job for life, security in the shape of a steady income and a pension at the end of it. There is some basis for that widespread view.

"Yet civil servants become Communists. In every country, including our own, the party has had some notable successes in its work in the Civil Service. So much so that the Communist civil servants have become a security problem in Britain and elsewhere.

"But the 'Red' civil servant's Communism cannot be explained by poverty, for he has at least an income which keeps him above the poverty line. It cannot be explained by insecurity, for nothing short of gross misbehaviour will lose him his job--and his old age is provided for through a good pensions scheme. It cannot be explained by squalor, for he usually lives in a tidy little suburban house, observing highly-respectable, if sometimes needlessly snobbish, standards.

"But precisely these conditions tend to make his life un-adventurous. There is little in such a life to call up his reserves of idealism. Precisely because it is so orderly, with the daily routine of train, office, train, suburbia, it seems purposeless and dull. Nothing short of a faith which gives him a real sense of purpose and direction, which demands that he should sacrifice, which makes him see that the daily routine in the material world is not the beginning and the end of everything, can make such a life tolerable for an intelligent man. That, at least, or Communism.

"For Communism can appear to satisfy for the time being. The civil servant who by day is the most respectable of the city-bound travellers, can exchange his homburg hat and carefully-rolled umbrella for a cloth cap. He can sail forth at nights, with an assumed name, to engage in Communist activities and acquire a philosophy for the first time in his life; something in which he really believes.

"So can he end his boredom and frustration, find adventure and salve a conscience troubled by his own comfort and that of his class in the face of social misery. And when he becomes a good Marxist he can find still greater adventure passing back confidential memoranda and such secrets as come his way through the party 'grape-vine' to the citadel of Communism itself. He can come to believe that it is all for the good of the cause, part of the fight against injustice and on behalf of the downtrodden. And so his idealism is satisfied as his values are turned upsidedown. I have known many such in the past.

"It requires a religious faith which makes life an adventure, an apostolic zeal which makes him able to rise above his environment, to offer anything which can compete with Communism as an outlet for such a man. Given such a faith he would be proof against Communist influences. But deprive a generation of a faith of any sort and the phenomenon of the Communist civil servant becomes immediately explicable.

"The spread of Communism and Communist influences has been made possible by the spread of wrong ideas, wrong values, wrong standards. Still more it has been made possible by the existence of large numbers of people with no standards, no values and often all-but no ideas at all.

"For some centuries men have been told that it does not matter what they believe so long as they are 'good men', that they can believe anything. And it has ended in the majority of men believing nothing.

"This is the modern paganism. It is a state of things which obtains in Britain today, where only a minority have any deeply held beliefs whatsoever. A country, or a world, in such a state is 'easy meat' for the Communist. Its defences against Communism are down.

"Communism is the expression of a deep spiritual ill..."

"I believe that men will respond if we give them a cause, that they turn to Communism only in their frustration."

The Answer to Communism by
Douglas Hyde, Paternoster
Publications, 67 Fleet
Street, London, England, 1949,
pp. 46-49.

"Communists, I believe, are definitely convertible."

"From Marx to Christ" by
Douglas Hyde, p. 163.

BENJAMIN GITLOW

This person was born in the United States in 1891. He is one of the founders of the Communist Party, USA. He held numerous high offices in the Party and twice ran for Vice-President of the United States on the Communist Party platform. In 1929 he was expelled from the Communist Party, USA for failure to comply with its "line" and discipline, as formulated, according to Gitlow, by Joseph Stalin. He is the author of various books and articles.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED BENJAMIN GITLOW IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"In the spring of 1891 two young Russian Jewish men rented for ten dollars a month the ground floor and basement of a two-story frame dwelling in Elizabethport, New Jersey, a village near the southern shores of Newark Bay and on the eastern outskirts of Elizabeth. The thin fellow with the shocks of wavy black hair was my father; the other, short, stocky and blond, my father's boyhood friend, Morris Rippenbein. . . . The two basement rooms were shared together, although not in the fall and winter, when they were too damp and cold to be occupied. The place was infested with rats and had no improvements. . . .

" . . . times were bad and work scarce. My parents found it difficult to pay their five dollars rent each month. My father worked only part time. The family income had to be replenished by my mother working at home. The shirt factory from which she obtained her work was far away. To reach the place my mother had to take a street car and then walk an interminably long road with a large clumsy heavy bundle of shirts. One miserable fall day dark with rain my mother lost her way. Besides the bundle of shirts, she was heavy with child. She arrived at the factory when it was dusk, drenched to the skin. The forelady saw her condition; when paying her off, she refused to give her any more work until 'the thing was over.' My mother begged for the work, said she needed it badly, explained that her condition did not interfere with her doing it. But her pleading was of no avail. Mother returned home

"tired, despondent and despairing of the future... Into this world of tyrannical petty worries I was born about an hour after noon of Tuesday, December twenty-second, 1891.

"Five weeks later, during a big snowstorm, the family moved back to New York, for my father, although not directly involved in a fight between some workers and the boss of the factory in which he was employed, as a class-conscious worker, sided with his fellow employees and lost his job. At five weeks I was the son of a despairing unemployed tramping the sidewalks of New York in quest of work.

"As I look back in retrospect upon my boyhood days I find that lasting impressions have been made upon me by the social life in my parents' home, the constant coming and going of friends, the Socialist activities that emanated from our house, the discussions and the stories that the immigrants told about their personal and political experiences in Tsarist Russia. Growing up largely in the Socialist movement, stories about underground Russia fascinated me. I would listen intently to the adventures of the Russian revolutionary leaders, of their experiences with the police, the days and years spent in prisons and their exile to the wastes of Siberia. I would grow indignant hearing how the Tsarist treated the people. I thrilled at the stories of the underground movement, of the conspiring activities, how deeds of violence against the Tsarist oppressors were planned. I marvelled when they explained how they transmitted messages in code by a system of telegraphic knocks upon the wall. I learned also how they crudely wrote out by hand the pamphlets and proclamations that were then distributed secretly by passing them in an endless chain from one person to another. The stories of personal experiences when raids were made by the secret police upon revolutionists' homes held me spellbound. I anticipated every incident that would be related. I also listened to discussions, very idealistic in their essence, in which the participants showed how Socialism would transform the world, and to arguments over methods of how Socialism was to be achieved."

I Confess by Benjamin Gitlow,
E. P. Dutton and Company, 1939,
pp. 3-4, 5-6.

"In New York City I learned more about the Socialist movement. I attended mass meetings, listened to street corner orators, read Socialist newspapers and argued Socialism with the boys at school."

Ibid., pp. 6 - 7.

"My daily life really began after working hours. The most important single factor was Frederick C. Howe's forum at Cooper Union, which in those days exerted considerable influence upon the lives of the thinking youth of the city, especially those politically and socially minded. A motley crowd came to listen and learn. . . . The Socialists, who were very numerous then, would cleverly turn every topic under discussion into one on Socialism. . . .

"It was at that time, in 1909, that I joined the Socialist Party and became active in the radical labor movement."

Ibid., pp. 7, 8.

"Joining the Socialist Party had seemed to me the proper and necessary thing to do. My father and mother were Socialists."

Ibid., p. 13.

"To many of us the Russian Revolution was that break in the war for which we had been hoping and waiting. We saw in it the beginning of a world-wide revolutionary wave of resentment against the sordid capitalistic orgy of carnage--popular resentment that would end the war by driving from power those who were responsible for it. . . .

"The Russian Revolution revived our faith in Socialism and in the ultimate success of our movement. . . .

"The ending of the World War in 1918, followed by the revolutionary developments in Europe, seemed to indicate that the end of capitalism was at hand, as the red banners were being unfurled in one country after another. It was a sign that the Russian Revolution was spreading. Socialism was becoming a fighting revolutionary force. We accepted the Bolshevik Revolution as our revolution, the Bolshevik leaders as our leaders. We worshiped Lenin and Trotsky as the heroes of the Revolution. Their influence upon us was tremendous.

"We did not stop to weigh and examine the program and philosophy of Bolshevism."

Ibid., pp. 11 - 12.

"My break with pre-war Socialism followed. I became a revolutionary Socialist and forthwith joined the ranks of the Left Wing. I pledged myself to work for the transformation of the Socialist Party into a revolutionary Socialist organization. This was in the Spring of 1918. A year later I was expelled from the party. After my expulsion, I was drafted by the Left Wing to carry on the work of its organization."

Ibid., p. 21.

"That the ultimate aim of the Left Wing in the Socialist Party was to capture the Socialist Party and change it into a Communist Party cannot be denied."

Ibid., p. 32.

"...the Socialist Party, which it had taken many years to build, was decimated, while the Communist movement was started with three splits at its birth--namely, the Communist Party, dominated by the Russian Federation; the Communist Labor Party, consisting of the English-speaking representatives of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party; and the Michigan State Socialist Party, which soon became the Proletarian Party of America." (1919)

Ibid., p. 56.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED BENJAMIN GITLOW AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

(According to Gitlow his disagreement with Stalin over policy matters caused the trend away from Communism to set in. Gitlow claims he wanted the Communist movement in America run by Americans and not by Russians.)

"...I wrote about the Comintern Address or Open Letter to the American Party."

'It is a document which proposes thoroughly to discredit the present Party leadership and to turn it over to the Opposition. In the Letter, Lovestone, Pepper, myself, and Bedacht are very sharply attacked. We are called unprincipled opportunists, rotten diplomats, our political views are attacked unjustifiably...."

Ibid., p. 556.

"I was expelled from the Party for refusal to submit to the Comintern Address." (1929)

Ibid., p. 568.

"I soon felt what it meant to be expelled from the movement which had been part of my life since 1919. My comrades who had been my best friends turned their heads away when they met me, muttered curses, and often spat upon the sidewalk to show their contempt. Bob Minor and Jack Stachel, in charge of the national office, did not have to rifle my trunk, for it contained no documents. Yet they allowed it to be sacked of my clothes and the clothes of my little son—all because I had refused to do Stalin's bidding. It was petty and mean and typical of the Stalin regime. I felt Stalin's whip on all sides, for his arm stretched from far off Russia into the United States to direct a campaign of vile personal slander and fanatical intolerance against us. I was to learn in due time upon further reflection that Stalin, the fanatic and despot, the personification of Communist ruthlessness and evil, was but the natural outgrowth of Bolshevism and its system of politics."

Ibid., p. 570.

"The removal of the Lovestone-Gitlow leadership marks the advent of Stalinism in the American Communist Party. Stalin's Juggernaut rolled over that leadership, and, as it moved, practically all American devotees of Communism flung themselves under its wheels. The American Party, having thus achieved a state of political coma, if not Nirvana, was then added to Stalin's collection of puppets. He put an end to factionalism in the American Party....He did it by directly appointing the Leader of the American Party and subjecting him completely to Russian plenipotentiaries with full powers derived directly from Stalin. The decisions of these secret emissaries of Stalin are translated by the Party leader into immutable laws for the entire Party."

Ibid., p. 495.

"Upon our expulsion from the Communist Party, Lovestone and I organized our faithful followers into the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Majority Group)."

Ibid., p. 571.

"I split with the Lovestone group when it insisted that Stalin's policies were a hundred percent correct."

Ibid., p. 575.

"But my break with the Lovestone group did not mean a break with Communism. I was still a firm believer in Communism, though I had the boldness to break with many of its cherished traditions and prejudices."

Ibid., pp. 575-576.

"After leaving the Lovestone group, I attempted to form a bloc of all the Communist oppositions against Stalin. But I found each one of them as monolithic as the Communist Party itself....

"My belief in the Communist movement was beginning to weaken considerably by this time."

Ibid., p. 577.

"In 1934 the Socialist Party began to show, what I considered then, signs of life. I was still a Communist."

Ibid., p. 577.

"...I joined the Socialist Party. But by that time I was beginning to go beyond the Communist opposition standpoint. I was beginning to drift further and further away from Communism."

Ibid., p. 580.

"Once in the Socialist Party, however, I became aware that the young elements, who made up the bulk of the Militants, were falling like flies on fly paper for the very Communist program from which I was extricating myself.... What was more, I saw that the methods and caucuses, discipline, clique control and lack of moral scruples, which characterized the Communist movement, were coming to the fore in the Socialist Party, which had degenerated from a political party into a conglomeration of factions and a happy hunting ground for the intrigues of the Communist Party and the Communist oppositions."

Ibid., p. 580.

"The Communist movement of the world, represented by the Communist International, is the only organization on a world scale which can boast of unanimous decisions on all matters. The Communist International magazine of September twentieth, 1934, proudly boasted about this 'virtue' by declaring 'It is an International of people who think and act alike, and only as such can it ensure the success of the proletarian revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the victory of Socialism.'

"This enslavement of the human mind, this proscription of independent thinking more than anything else caused me to break with Communism.

"I joined the Communist movement because I believed in it, not because I wanted to be a blind follower of either Lenin or Stalin. I believed that the Russian Revolution gave the Socialists an answer to the question of how Socialism was to be achieved."

Ibid., pp. 586, 587.

"My first trip to Moscow in 1927 gave me a picture of the Communist International. It was altogether different from what I had expected it to be. I did not like the court attitude which prevailed. I did not like the hypocrisy and the ready professions of belief in things I knew the delegates to the Communist International did not believe in. I did not appreciate the way in which the rulers of the Communist International juggled with individuals and parties....

"The European Communists disappointed me. The German leaders were unfit to lead a German revolution. They drank too much, made blustering speeches, and were too willing to do the dirty work in the Comintern for their Russian masters. Not once did they give expression to an independent idea of their own...."

"The Communists of Great Britain, with the exception of Murphy, who was expelled from the Comintern because of his intellectual integrity, were a group of pettifogging nitwits, as expressionless and dull as a fog over London...."

Ibid., p. 587.

"The treatment of Trotsky personally and the methods employed in opposing his views shook my faith in the Russian leadership, even though at the time I did not believe in Trotsky's program.

Ibid., p. 588.

"My break with Stalin in 1929 forced me to re-examine in a critical way the activities and tenets of the Communist movement. My break with Communism, however, did not come suddenly, as I have indicated. It was not easy for me to sever the associations that I had built up in the movement, associations that had become, so as to speak, part of my life. I knew that I was drifting away from the movement, but I was not yet ready to take the step that would cut me definitely loose from it. Some important event had to take place which would shake my faith in Communism. It came when Hitler obtained power in Germany....

"I have come to the conclusion that the Communists more than any other force were responsible for the development of Fascism. They turned the tide of the Russian Revolution from the course of democracy into the blind alley of dictatorship. We must look to Lenin, not to Mussolini or Hitler, for the father of the modern totalitarian state."

Ibid., pp. 588, 589.

"The Communists did not hide the fact that Communism and Fascism had much in common."

Ibid., p. 590.

"This bureaucracy is the new aristocracy of Russia. They enjoy the special privileges and favors which accrue to every ruling class and aristocracy."

Ibid., p. 593.

"Under such conditions we cannot expect the Soviet state to wither away, as Lenin promised it would."

Ibid., p. 594.

"The Bolshevik rulers of Russia are extreme nationalists. All their actions are predicated on Russian national interests."

Ibid., p. 594.

"In every country where the labor movement has fallen under the spell of the Communists, the people as a whole have had to pay very dearly for it. We must not forget that the Russian rulers are primarily concerned about the affairs of their own country."

Ibid., p. 595.

"Communism is universal conscription of labor. Communism is forced labor. Free labor cannot exist under Communism any more than it can exist under Fascism. Free trade unionism is impossible under either regime. Neither regime recognizes the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Ibid., p. 597.

"What about the idealistic claims of the Communists? What about their vaunted slogan of bread and freedom? What about their promises to the masses that Communism would abolish poverty, rid them of their exploiters, deepen democracy and provide them with economic security?"

"Few are they who today harbor any illusions about the sort of 'democracy' that prevails in Russia today. It is virtually indistinguishable from the 'democracy' practiced in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy..."

"In the twenty-two years of its existence Communism in Russia has failed to fill the bread basket."

Ibid., pp. 596, 597.

"If democracy in America, precious for all its imperfections, were to be replaced by a Communist dictatorship, a new American Revolution would have to be fought to re-establish the rights of Man. Economic security and freedom go hand in hand. Only through the democratic process can both be achieved."

Ibid., p. 597.

FREDA UTLEY

This person was born in London, England, on January 23, 1898. She is a graduate of London University taking her M. A. degree with distinction in 1925. She married a Russian in that nation in 1928. She joined the Communist Party of Great Britain leaving it many years later as a result of being disillusioned during six years of residence in Soviet Russia. At the present time she is living in the United States.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED FREDA UTLEY

IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"One's character is one's fate," and character is mainly the product of environment. It is only in middle age one sees how the influences of youth have determined the course of life. Those influences in my case were both socialist and liberal. A passion for the emancipation of mankind, rather than the blueprint of a planned society or any mystical yearning to merge myself in a fellowship, led me to enter the Soviet Union and to leave it six years later with my political beliefs and my personal happiness alike shattered."

Lost Illusion by Freda Utley, Fireside Press, Philadelphia, 1948, pp. 1-2.

"I came to communism via Greek history, the French revolutionary literature I had read in childhood, and the English nineteenth-century poets of freedom. I came, not in revolt against a strict bourgeois upbringing, nor because of failure to make a place for myself in capitalist society, but profoundly influenced by a happy childhood, a socialist father, and a Continental education. For me, then, the communist ideal seemed the fulfillment of the age-long struggle of mankind for freedom and justice.

"My studies, both of ancient history and modern economics, made me abhor servitude in any form, and the Communists

seemed to me to be the only socialists who really believed in world-wide equality and liberty. Yet the same influences which turned my hopes toward Russia were to make it impossible for me to accept the Soviet regime once I came to know it intimately.

"I was, in Stalinist phraseology, a 'rotten liberal,' a 'petty bourgeois intellectual'--one who foolishly desired social justice, freedom, and equality, and who imagined that socialism meant an end to oppression and injustice!"

Ibid., p. 2.

"My mother, daughter of a radical Manchester family, had met my father, William Herbert Utley, at the age of sixteen. Edward Averling, the son-in-law of Karl Marx and the translator of Das Kapital, brought him to my grandfather's house. My grandfather, although a 'bourgeois,' being a manufacturer, was a free-thinker and a republican, and boasted of how his wife's mother, when old and very ill, had hidden the great Chartist leader, Feargus O'Connor, in her bed when the police were searching the house for him."

Ibid., pp. 2-3.

"In the years before he had a family to support, my father had taken part in the great labor struggles of the late eighties and early nineties. He had been arrested with John Burns at a demonstration of the unemployed in Trafalgar Square and had spoken from the same platform as Friedrich Engels in Manchester. Half a century later I was to find my father's name on documents in the library of the Marx Engels Institute in Moscow."

Ibid., pp. 3-4.

"His influence over me was profound, and he early implanted in my mind those libertarian values which have consciously or unconsciously motivated my life. His socialism, like that of many other Englishmen, was colored and humanized by the nineteenth century liberal atmosphere. It was the kind of socialism believed in by William Morris, the romantic Victorian rebel artist-poet whom my father had known in his youth, and whose influence over the British Socialist movement was far greater than that of Karl Marx. Morris has been described as an emotional socialist. The basic difference between him and the Marxists whose philosophy he repudiated, is that Morris was in revolt against poverty and oppression in any form and denounced the materialist concepts of the age. He hated the sordid ugliness of nineteenth century industrialism and the values of capitalist society and wanted men to think and feel differently. He was also contemptuous of Marx's elaborate 'scientific' theories about capitalism and class war."

Ibid., p. 4.

"The early influences which shaped my thoughts and feelings were thus essentially liberal, based on belief in reason and logic and the desire for the emancipation of mankind in body and spirit. I failed in my youth to perceive that communism is a substitute for religion and is essentially irrational in its mystical belief in inevitable progress through revolution. Perhaps, however, in my case as in that of many young people today, the instinctive desire for a religion was the compelling force leading me, step by step, into the Communist trap."*

Ibid., pp. 4-5.

"The experience of going to an expensive boarding school in England no doubt contributed to the psychological foundations in my subconscious mind for the militant communism which in my twenties supplanted the socialist outlook."

Ibid., p. 5.

"My home world had fallen to pieces, my brother was in
*underscoring added.

the army, my father was so ill that we knew he would soon die. So at the age of seventeen I left school with no regrets, and with personal experience to teach me that the social system could fling one into poverty from security, and prevent one from having an education even when one had proved one's mental qualification."

Ibid., p. 8.

"The death of my father in January 1918 was the first great grief of my life. I had loved him very dearly, and I had thought him the most wonderful person in the world--wise, tolerant, kind, never ill-tempered, and until the last absorbed in the course of history rather than in himself.

"He died in extreme poverty in a tiny cottage in Cornwall, so primitive that my mother had to fetch water in a bucket from a pump across the fields. I had seen him choking to death as his exhausted heart could no longer pump blood through his diseased lungs. Half unconscious at the end, he murmured Shakespeare's words about the bourne from which no traveler returns, and said to us he was now only curious to know whether he was right in thinking that death was nothingness."

Ibid., pp. 8-9.

"I brought my mother to London. She was broken in health by sorrow and the hard life she had lived nursing my father alone in Cornwall. My brother was far off in the war in Mesopotamia, and for a time I was my mother's sole support. My grandfather had stopped the few shillings he had grudgingly allowed during the last months of my father's life. He considered my mother's poverty a just punishment."

Ibid., p. 9.

"Active now in the socialist movement, I served as secretary of the King's College Socialist Society, and later as chairman of the London University Labor Party."

Ibid., p. 10.

"From the beginning I had been a defender of the Russian Revolution; but I had no more knowledge or understanding of communist theories than the Park Avenue pinks of today have of Marx. Nor did my pupils enlighten me, for they were high Communist Party officials out to enjoy life in the 'capitalist world' after the rigors of Moscow. They confined their propaganda to jokes about England.

"Then I met Boris Plavnik, an Old Bolshevik exiled after the revolution of 1905, to whom Communist theory was the breath of life. He was honest and sincere, although extremely vain. His English lessons usually became my German lessons and lessons in Marxist theory, from which, however, I might have benefited more had his arguments been less philosophical, dialectic and involved."

Ibid., pp. 10-11.

"From 1925 onwards I was drawing ever closer to the Communists. I stood with them against the right wing in the London University Labor Party, and in the University Labor Federation. The only influence which delayed my joining the Communist Party was that of Bertrand Russell, and unfortunately it was insufficient. I had met Russell when he came to speak for the King's College Socialist Society, and this led to a friendship which has been one of the most precious experiences of my life.

"In the Easter vacation of 1926 I spent a month with him and Dora Russell in Cornwall, teaching his young son in the mornings, walking, talking, and bathing in the afternoons, reading aloud in the evenings. Bertrand Russell tried hard to convince me that the Marxist theory was untenable in the light of modern physics.

"He set me to reading the A.B.C. of Relativity and when I found I could not understand it he told me to read the A.B.C. of Atoms first. He hoped that if he explained the difficult passages in these books I would be able to grasp the fact that Einstein had destroyed the basis of Marxist theory. As I wrote my brother at the time, I was being driven to study the theory of relativity in order to understand what Russell thought about Russia.

"Unfortunately I failed to appreciate the philosophical and political significance of Einstein's discoveries. In spite of Russell's patience and the time he was prepared to waste on my education, I could not understand either Einstein or the basic connection between Communism and Newton's theory of gravity. Some of the Bolsheviks, however, understood it very well.

"The writings of Einstein were banned in Soviet Russia while I lived there. For all I know, Russia's failure to keep abreast of America in physics, particularly the atom bomb, may be largely due to the communist sacrifice of scientific truth for political expediency."

Ibid., pp. 12-13.

"The betrayal of high hopes by the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party led me into the Communist fold, convinced of the reality of the class war, and that socialism could not be obtained gradually. It seemed to me that there was no solution for unemployment and low wages under capitalism, and that only the overthrow of the capitalist system and the 'unity of the workers of the world' could save humanity."

Ibid., p. 14.

"I cannot live without feeling I am doing worth-while work, and I see no hope in the Labor Party. I think the Communist thesis is right."

Ibid., p. 17.

The USSR was soon to become a country of starved peasants and undernourished workers, cowed and whipped by fierce punishments to toil endlessly for a state which would not provide them even with enough to eat. But, unfortunately for my own future, I saw the USSR during the brief period of prosperity which began in 1924 and ended in 1928.

"In September 1927 I returned to England full of enthusiasm and prepared to tell the world of the wonders of the Russian socialist fatherland. I left the Independent Labor Party, joined the Communist Party, and addressed meetings all over England.

"I admitted that the standard of life in Russia was lower than in the western capitalist countries, but I explained the need to accumulate capital for industrialization and demonstrated how, because there was no capitalist class to exploit the workers, the burden of saving was borne equally by all.

"I said that there was therefore no such acute misery as in the era of Britain's industrialization in the early nineteenth century, and that all Russians were enthusiastically collaborating in constructing socialism. I felt that the gates opening upon the road to paradise had been unlocked to mankind, and all I had to do was to help convince the workers of my own country of the need to overthrow the capitalist class and join up with the USSR.

"Looking back on that distant time, I now wonder, did I really believe it? I suppose I did, or I should never have thrown up my job in the capitalist world and gone off with my husband to take part, as we thought, in the construction of socialism."

Ibid., pp. 20-21.

"Arcadi Berditchevsky, who became my husband in 1928, was a Russian Jew, who had studied at Zurich University and emigrated to the United States in 1914. In 1920 he had quit a good job in New York to work for the Soviet Government in London in their trading mission. He was not a Bolshevik, but had been a member of the Bund, the Jewish Social Democratic party in Russian Poland, where he had lived before he went to study in Switzerland."

Ibid., p. 21.

"By the time I knew him, Arcadi's monthly salary had been increased to \$500. But his wife, Anna Abramovna, had neither understanding nor sympathy for his political views and could not see why he was not satisfied with a comfortable home, a pretty wife, and a secure job. To the last she never understood why he had left her for me since, as she told her friends, I was not pretty and would never make him comfortable.

"Arcadi and I knew that we loved each other after only a few meetings, but his separation from Anna Abramouna was a long and painful business. In January 1927 he asked her to divorce him, but she begged him to wait until she could join either her brother in New York or her sister in Paris. She said she could not bear the thought of their friends in London knowing he had left her. Later it became clear that she hoped all along that his feeling for me was a temporary infatuation and that if they continued to live in the same house he would return to her."

Ibid., pp. 22-23.

"The study of history could not satisfy. I yearned to take part in making it."

Ibid., p. 26.

"I attended the sixth Congress of the Comintern as a translator, listened to Buchan from the visitors' gallery and saw Michael Borodin, back from China, walking in the corridors, already disgraced but still a romantic figure. I thrilled at the sight of Comintern delegates, white, black, brown and yellow, from every corner of the globe assembled in the socialist capital, visible witnesses of the 'Unity of the Workers of the World.'

Ibid., p. 28.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED FREDA UTLEY

AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"You believe what you wish to believe, until experience bangs your head against the wall and awakens you from dreams founded on hope, a misreading of history, and ignorance both of human psychology and science."

Ibid., p. 28.

"Soviet society cannot be described without some account of the human factors. Russian women are just as prone to social discrimination, pride in their social status, love of fine clothes and admiration, as women in 'bourgeois society.' Soviet society has its hierarchies and its jealousies and is not composed of simple-minded, ardent revolutionaries with red cotton handkerchiefs on their heads, intent on constructing socialism regardless of personal advancement and the material comforts such advancement brings.

"The simply dressed men and women who march in the demonstrations of the proletariat for the newsreel cameras and the admiration of foreign tourists, are most of them longing to change places with the boyars of Communist bureaucracy who watch them from the reserved seats in the Red Square."

Ibid., p. 38.

"Back in England I threw myself into the work of the British Communist Party, and tried to bury in my subconscious the growing suspicions concerning Soviet socialist life which had been engendered by my year in Tokyo, and by the fortnight I had spent in Moscow on my way home at the end of 1929."

Ibid., p. 38.

"To my mind it seemed clear that the basic need was to explain Marxist theory, to make them understand the meaning of 'workers of the world, unite' by showing that if all textile workers in all countries got together in one organization they could establish higher wages for all.

"I tried to make them understand that the capitalist system, based on production for profit, inevitably doomed them to increasing poverty now that other countries, besides England were industrialized, and workers in the East with lower standards of life competed against them.

"But now I came up against the Comintern, which was pursuing an ultra-left policy and insisting that agitation and agitation alone, was the task of the Communists. We were ordered not to make theoretical explanations, nor to waste our time or energy in exposing the dynamics of capitalism. We were only to foment strikes; to tell the workers to strike and strike whatever the consequences!"

"The Comintern, in fact, was not concerned with the livelihood of foreign workers; it wished only to weaken the capitalist countries by continual strikes and the dislocation of economic life. The sole objective of the Communist International was the safety of Soviet Russia, and it recked nothing of the interests or sufferings of the workers."

Ibid., pp. 39-40.

"Finally I got myself into trouble with the Politbureau of the Party in London by writing an article which the editor of the Communist Review had inadvertently allowed to be published. I had been reading Lenin's writings of the 'Iskra period' and had discovered that he had condemned the 'Economists,' who maintained that the intellectual has no role to play in the Party and that the socialist idea can spring 'spontaneously' out of the experience of the working class.

"Lenin had insisted that the ordinary worker, by the experience of his daily life, develops not a full revolutionary class consciousness but only that of 'a trade-unionist.' Clearly, to my mind, in this period of declining markets for Britain, the workers' trade-union consciousness was likely to impel him to accept wage reductions and join with the bosses in attempting to recapture their markets. I did not, of course, foresee that this would lead all Europe to the development of increased nationalism and Germany to the horrors of National Socialism.

"But I dimly perceived that unless the Marxist conception of international working-class unity could be put across to the workers, they would unite with their employers against other countries. We have since seen how Hitler and Mussolini roused their people to fight under the slogan of the proletarian nations against the 'pluto-democracies.'

"Although my article was buttressed by quotations from Lenin, I was told by my Communist superiors that I had deviated seriously from the Party line by maintaining that theory was of primary importance and that the intellectual, accordingly, need not play at being a proletarian, since he had an important part to perform in bringing knowledge of socialism to the working class. I was not directly accused of Trotskyism, but I was held to be slightly tainted with heresy."

Ibid., pp. 40-42.

"I was in revolt against tyranny and oppression--not, as in the case of so many of those who have accepted Stalin's tyranny, a craving to lose myself and my reason in a universal brotherhood. In my mind Pericles' funeral speech, Shelley's and Swinburne's poems, Marx's and Lenin's writings, were all part and parcel of the same striving for the emancipation of mankind from oppression."

Ibid., pp. 43-44.

"You can preserve your inner integrity anywhere, even under Communist tyranny, if you do not seek escape in illusions and deceive yourself in order to be comforted."

Ibid., pp. 44.

"Marx and Lenin were still available to all in unexpurgated editions but later the government saw to it that the originals were hard to come by except for high Communist Party members with a ticket to the Party Bookshop.

"The Kremlin now permits only carefully edited extracts from the books of Marx and Lenin for the education of the masses. Stalin's speeches and writings have taken their place."

Ibid., p. 53.

"Already the world of these foreign Communists in Moscow seemed far removed from my own. Most of them lived in the Lux Hotel and had no worries about food or shelter. They knew nothing of the life of the ordinary Russians, and spent their time discussing theory, organization, and foreign affairs, or gossiping about each other within their own closed-off world.

"I felt a growing barrier between them and myself, a barrier caused by the constant need to put a half-hitch on my tongue, as they say in Devonshire. For them, all was for the best in the best of all possible worlds, the USSR. To question it even when the evidence was completely to the contrary was dangerous heresy."

Ibid., p. 59.

"My conversation was guarded, but probably I failed to display the required enthusiasm when they held forth about the sacrifices 'we are making' for the industrialization of the Soviet Union... They were no fools, nor was I. They must have known that I perceived that high Communist Party functionaries were getting the best of everything and that all the sacrificing was being done by the dumb crowds, the dragooned peasants and the helpless workers."

Ibid., p. 60.

"The Soviet Social Register is written on the ration cards of the favored Communist bureaucracy, the new Russian nobility. I learned of the existence of exclusive shops catering to privileged high Party officials and called 'closed distributors,' which sold foodstuffs and clothing unobtainable elsewhere, or only to be purchased on the 'free market' at exorbitant prices.

"Other closed distributors with less attractive wares were opened later for lower grades in the social hierarchy, for second-class Party functionaries and non-Party specialists and for the workers in heavy industry. There came to be, roughly speaking, the following grades: First, what Russians call the Kremlin people, commissars, chairmen of big trusts, members of the Central Committee of the Soviets and of the Party--all the highest Communist Party members.

"Next came the OGPU shops which served food almost as good and as plentiful as the shops for the Kremlovsky (Kremlin) people. Then, Gort A, for high officials--all Party men--and for a very few specially favored scientists and engineers. Next, Gort B, for the 'middle class'--that is, Party men of lower rank and highly qualified non-Party specialists.

"In addition there were well-stocked shops for the Red Army officers. There were also the various closed distributors for the factories producing capital goods. These varied greatly from place to place. In some the workers could obtain the official ration of butter and milk and meat. In others none of these luxuries were ever on sale. But the Kremlovsky shops, Gort A, and Insnab, (the Foreigners Store) were always well stocked with food and clothing unavailable to the average Russian."

Ibid., pp. 61-62.

"I soon ran into the snobbishness of the Communist Party members. Friends from London who had known my husband and me there would try to ask me to parties without him because he was not a member of the Communist Party. Or if he were invited and went he was made to feel a social inferior."

Ibid., p. 64.

"Stalin, having at last decided upon collectivization, thought he could force it through by terror exercised against the whole peasant population.

"He laid waste the countryside and caused the death of between five and ten million peasants by starvation.

"Russian morale has never recovered from those terrible years. The Communist Party and the Comsomols became the expropriators of the people, an army of occupation in their own country."

Ibid., p. 80.

"The war on the Russian peasants was more brutalizing than war against another nation, for the peasants were unarmed and defenseless. The present generation of Communists was brutalized in youth by the pogrom conducted against the peasants."

Ibid., p. 81.

"To be religious was tantamount to being considered counter-revolutionary. So freed of moral and religious inhibitions, they stole whatever they could lay their hands on. Russian housewives locked up every bit of food and kept a strict watch upon their scanty wardrobes."

Ibid., p. 99.

"Friendship is very precious in an uncertain, savage and strange world, where everyone's hand is against his neighbor, and fear and the struggle for bare subsistence drive even decent men and women to spy upon and to denounce one another. Life is endurable only if you have at least one human being to whom you can speak your mind freely and without fear. I had to come home, close the door, and shut out the world in which life was one continual pretense, a perpetual licking of the hand which smites you.

"A little freedom of expression, honesty of thought and speech, are as necessary as air. Without them one would suffocate in the foul Moscow atmosphere. The glaring contradictions between theory and practice, between what was supposed to be and what was, and the constant effort to say and look the opposite of what one thought, were by no means the least strain in Soviet life. I began to understand why so many Russians sought escape in drink, why the vodka shops were never empty, and why men lay drunk in the snow by the roadside."

Ibid., pp. 114-115.

"The wretches dying of starvation and the ill-fed workers and peasants were just cannon fodder in the battle of socialism. If there were not enough food to go around, the officers of the socialist army must be well fed even if everyone else went short. In the future everyone would have plenty if the rulers were ruthless enough now to see millions die in the cause of industrialization."

Ibid., p. 123.

"Life in the Soviet Union might be uncomfortable and saddening, tragic and repulsive, but it taught us politically as no other experience could have done. Michael, Jane, and I felt this even when the process of being educated was most painful. We learned to recognize reality under false labels and were cured of political illusions, or at least of the propensity to fall for slojons, facile panaceas, and hypocritical pretenses.

"Ever since I lived in Russia it has been almost impossible for me to accept professions and declared aims at their face value anywhere. Perhaps I have gone too far to the other extreme, being now inclined to think that those who profess least virtue are likely to have most. In any case I am, I believe, forever cured of the Western intellectual's preoccupation with external forms and labels.

"I cannot accept tyranny, cruelty and starvation as justified because they are being inflicted on people in the name of a humanitarian ideal. Nor can I understand how Western intellectuals who call themselves liberals or socialists can seek to bring on their own countries the Russian pattern of blood-stained dictatorship, misguidedly called a 'classless society'!"

"Life in the Soviet Union also made me realise that some absolute standards of behavior are essential to mankind if we are not to return to the level of the brute. Voltaire's saying that if God did not exist, He would have to be invented, needs restating in new terms."

Ibid., p. 124.

"I have learned that absolute power will corrupt any minority, that more evil is caused by fanatics than by wicked men, that no movement or individual can be certain enough of the effect their actions will have, to subordinate means entirely to ends. Six years in Soviet Russia have convinced me that democracy for all its inefficiency is likely to secure more justice than any despot, however benevolent he may be or may profess himself to be."

"Why is it that only personal experience of Communist tyranny and terror, with the never-absent physical fear of the secret police, can shatter the illusions of those of us who call ourselves Western liberals..."

"Why is it that we who have enjoyed the human freedoms which our forefathers fought so hard to win and to bequeath to us, do not, with the example of Russia before us, realize the horrors of life without freedom? Why is it that we cannot understand that there is no such thing as embracing Communism as an experiment? It is a one-way street, ending in a cul de sac of secret police terror, firing squads for the intellectuals and leaders and concentration camps and slave labor for the masses. There is no turning back; there is no escape."

Ibid., pp. 125-126.

"What seems to differentiate men most, is their greater or lesser degree of courage--in particular the moral courage to face the fact that they have been mistaken in their beliefs. This was particularly obvious in Russia where the decent, humane and altruistic types of Communist too often recoiled before the realization that they had wasted their lives, sacrificed their personal happiness, and endured prison and exile to accomplish the opposite of what they had planned."

Ibid., p. 127.

"Even men of high courage and integrity can be broken

by an inhuman system. Men who can face hunger and prison and even torture for themselves cannot endure the starvation of their children. That breaks the hardest spirit and enslaves the boldest.

"The American workman who goes on strike may be willing to see his children hungry if there is some hope of victory. But few men can face the prospect of their wives and children being tossed out into the snow to die of starvation and cold, when they know there is no hope of winning out against the state which is employer, policeman, judge and executioner."

Ibid., pp. 127-128.

"Often in Russia I repeated to Arcadi the words which Euripides put into the mouth of Andromache when, after the fall of Troy, they take her little son away to be killed: 'Oh, ye have found an anguish to outstrip all tortures of the East, ye gentle Greeks.'

"The Soviet state had found a more certain method of breaking human beings than the crude physical tortures inflicted by the Nazis on their victims. The Kremlin learned that the surest way to break resistance to tyranny was by threatening men through their wives and children. How can the Russian worker strike when he knows that not only will he be imprisoned but also that his family will be thrown into the street immediately, and his wife refused employment?"

Ibid., p. 128.

"The fight for bare existence absorbed the minds and energies of the masses, while the struggle for position and affluence seemed the main preoccupation of most of those fortunate enough to belong to the Communist Party."

Ibid., p. 130.

"The greatest source of income of the Torgsin shops was remittances from abroad. Jews, in particular, often had relatives in foreign countries--in Poland, in Germany, and above all in the United States--who would send them a few dollars a month to save them from starvation. The percentage of Jewish people standing in the Torgsin queues--there were lines even at these shops since there were never enough sales people--was very high.

"Anti-Semitism, although officially condemned, took a new lease on life when the Russians saw their Jewish neighbors in the apartment kitchens cooking good food which they never had a chance to buy. A few years later, in the great purge, countless Jewish families suffered for their past enjoyment of a little food bought with money received from abroad."

Ibid., p. 150.

"Jane and I decided that the best term to apply to the 'new and better' society being created in Soviet Russia was industrial feudalism. Freedom of movement, collective bargaining for wage increases, strikes and other such evils of capitalist society had been finally abolished. The workers as well as the peasants had become serfs of the Party which owned the state."

Ibid., p. 156.

"My most lasting memories of life in Moscow concern the three years Arcadi and I spent in our two rooms on Ordinka near the Moscow River. They were our first home together and our last, for we did not secure our long-promised flat until three months before Arcadi's arrest in April, 1936."

Ibid., p. 168.

"Our flat was on a top floor lately added to an old house. Above us was a great loft with beams which barely kept out the rain and snow. Up in that freezing cold loft at night, there would be dozens of starving peasants or beggars--mostly children. These wretched little waifs, the bezprizorniye, came daily to plead for crusts.

"Shivering with cold, they held out old tin cans for hot water. If one gave a piece of sugar to these poor children an ecstatic smile would break over their pale faces. Periodically the police would hound them out of their wretched shelter into the street, but after a few days there would be others.

"One of the most terrible and pitiful sights I saw was one

late afternoon in November 1933. Looking out of the window I saw police driving some wrecks of humanity down into the cellar of our building. More and more people were brought in as the evening fell. Going down into the courtyard I was told by other occupants of our apartment house what was happening.

"The police were rounding up all the beggars and the homeless in the city prior to the November Revolution celebrations. The foreigners must not see the starving, homeless hordes, so they were all to be dumped outside Moscow.

"Our cellar was one of the collection depots. Late in the evening trucks arrived, and the beggars were pushed into them. Some were sick, others lame. Many were children. They were to be taken forty or fifty miles outside Moscow and dumped on the road to die, like abandoned dogs or cats. If the stronger ones managed to straggle back to Moscow the celebrations would be over by the time they got there.

"We all watched that pitiful exodus from our windows. A thin rain was falling and the air was damp and chilly. Although by this time I should have been conditioned to brutality, I was pregnant and it made me sick. Those mothers down there with their cold and hungry children being driven out into the desolate countryside must be suffering unbearable anguish. It would have been more merciful to shoot them outright.

"I shivered with icy foreboding at the world into which I should soon bring a child. But I am blessed, or cursed, with a sanguine temperament; and although I knew with my mind that one cannot escape from the Soviet Union, I still went on deluding myself in my heart that some day, somehow, Arcadi and I might get out.

"My moral and political degeneration in the communist atmosphere had proceeded so far that I no longer hoped for the liberation of the Russian people. I dreamed of escape from the horrors of Stalin's Russia, not of the overthrow of his tyranny."

Ibid., pp. 170-171.

"The Soviet Government even in those days denied that it persecuted religion but it was a fact that anyone known to go to church or to a synagogue, or to have any religious beliefs, could rarely, if ever, obtain a good job. Membership in the Communist Party with the privileges this gave was, of course, out of the question for either Christians or orthodox Jews."

Ibid., p. 193.

"Early in 1935 the Seventh Congress of the Comintern switched all the Communist parties of the world over to the Popular Front line or Trojan horse tactic. The Social Democrats, Labor Parties and Trade Unions of the West whom we had hitherto denounced as Social Fascists worse than outright Nazis, were now to be counted as our allies.

"Similarly, in China, the Communists were instructed to cease fighting Ch'ang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang and to try to make an alliance with them against Japan. The Chinese Communists were further instructed to cease killing landowners and to represent themselves as liberal agrarian reformers.

"Thus overnight everything we had said and written in previous years became heresy. The wise so-called scientific workers were those who had always taken care to say opposite things at the same time, and thus ensure themselves against sudden changes in the Party line. Everyone of us bore in mind the old Soviet precepts:

"If you think don't speak!"
"If you speak don't write!"
"If you write don't publish!"
"If you publish recant immediately!"

Ibid., pp. 197-198.

"It is only when the people submit blindly that a master can order tremendous sacrifices to produce very little."

"Thus spoke the Abbe Custine concerning one of Stalin's prototypes, the 'Iron Tsar,' Nicholas I, who made it a crime for workers to strike. In the Abbe's eyes the edifices erected by the Tsars represented 'not the force of a great country, but the uselessly wasted sweat of a great people.'

"Tourists from the 'capitalist world' to Stalin's empire were less perceptive than the clerical visitor from France to the nineteenth-century empire of the Romanovs. They admired the gigantic edifices and were indifferent to the wasted sweat and the misery of the Russian people.

"Communists and fellow travelers, many of whom at home had never seen the inside of a factory or a power station, journalists and authors, school teachers and 'intellectuals' of all kinds, came on conducted tours of the Soviet Union and worshipped before the shrine of the machine."

Ibid., p. 199.

"This deification is Stalin's own conception of himself, as he testified at his sixtieth birthday:

"Your congratulations and greetings I credit to the account of the great party of the working class, which gave me birth and raised me in its own image."

"The semi-mystical, semi-religious and altogether nauseating outpourings in the Soviet Press in praise of Stalin assign to him such a universality. He is represented as the fountain of all goodness and all strength and of all achievement of the whole Russian people.

"Stalin is the divine *vozd* (The Russian translation of *Fuehrer*, or leader.) He is the nation as a totality, the 'image' of themselves set up by the working class. By praising him, the working class is supposed to adore itself.

"Stalin is the 'infallible,' the 'incomparable,' 'our sun' and 'our soul.' He is the proletariat's—or the Russian's—*god* 'created in its own image.' He is the Red Tsar, and 'Little Father' of his people."

Ibid., p. 226.

"Liberalism has been corrupted, deprived of meaning. Anyone whose human sympathies and intelligence are not atrophied must exclaim: 'If Stalin's Russia is what these socialists and liberals want, give me the most reactionary capitalism!'"

Ibid., p. 229.

"At long last Arcadi and I obtained our own flat, in January 1936.

"On the night of April tenth, Arcadi awakened me saying, 'We have visitors!'

"I sprang out of bed to see a soldier in the hall. Two secret police officers in uniform were in our sitting room, together with the janitor of our block of flats.

"The secret police officers warned us we must not speak to each other, and started on a methodical search of the whole flat. We had hundreds of books, and they went through every one of them, shaking out their leaves, scanning the titles."

Ibid., pp. 263, 266.

"At eight o'clock they told Arcadi they were taking him away to be examined, but the search was not yet completed."

Ibid., p. 267.

"At about nine o'clock they took him away. We kissed for the last time. At the door I said, 'What can I do? To whom shall I go?'

"He shrugged his shoulders. 'No one can help,' he said.

"No words of love passed between us. They were not needed. Reserved to the last and calm to the last, he gave me a gentle smile and was gone.

"I never saw him again. He passed out of my life on that lovely April morning, in his English flannel jacket, his black head hatless, a slight figure between the two khaki-clad Soviet secret police officers."

Ibid., p. 268.

"So I left Moscow one evening ten days after Arcadi's arrest."

Ibid., p. 271.

"Arcadi was in prison because of some remark he had made six or seven years before in Japan."

Ibid., p. 275.

"Whether Arcadi was shot or whether he died from hardship, ill treatment, cold, or lack of food, I shall never know. It is scarcely possible that he still lives, broken in health, and deprived of all hope of release."

Ibid., pp. 284.- 285.

"It would have dismayed some at least of the friends of the Soviet Union in England and the United States to learn that the Russian Government could be even more cruel than the Nazi Government. For the Nazis did at least allow communication between prisoners and their relatives, and informed the latter when a concentration camp victim died or was shot. Moreover, Arcadi's case constituted clear proof of the fact that in the USSR men are condemned, not only without trial, but without any real charge against them."

Ibid., p. 287.

"It took me years to become free again in mind and spirit.

"Perhaps my voice could not have affected public opinion any more than those other few voices which of recent years have told the truth about Soviet tyranny. But I wish I had immediately joined the goodly company which tried to save the world from the consequences of a false belief in communism and Russian intentions. That belief played a large part in bringing about the European war, in which millions were killed and mutilated."

Ibid., p. 288.

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

This person was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, on July 17, 1891. He attended St. Xavier's College, St. Mary's College and the Indianapolis Law School, receiving his LL.B. from the latter institution. For some years he was active in organized labor circles, gradually veering in the direction of Socialism and finally embracing Communism, becoming the labor editor of the Daily Worker in 1935 and later its managing editor. He renounced Christianity but later, in 1945, Budenz rejected Communism and returned to his faith in Christianity. He is presently professor at Fordham University and is the author of various articles and books.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"At the time of my departure from the Church, I knew in my heart that it was solely to defy the Catholic moral law."

This Is My Story by Louis Francis Budenz,
McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1947,
p. 157.

"My revolt ... had flowed not only from the weakness of my heart, but also from a rising impatience with the slowness of reform. I had made several surveys of housing in the United States, and the slum conditions under which human beings were obliged to live in many sections of our rich country offended my sense of justice. The low degree of labor organization was another grievance."

Ibid., p. 38.

"My revolt, for instance, was accompanied by a thoughtless disturbance over the condemnation by Pius X of le Sillon, 'the furrow,' the social movement in France."

Ibid., p. 39.

"In those days we read with much interest, though with some sharp criticism, the International Socialist Review, which was graphically attractive and which largely expressed the Bill Haywood, I. W. W., viewpoint. Although a little later I was to write an extensive article for the magazine section of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch criticizing the Syndicalists, at the time of my exile from the Church I inclined more and more in their direction. Could I have foreseen how in the future this exaggerated antistate attitude which led me to

"Syndicalism would bring me along the road to Communism, the last word in the deification of the State, the irony of the political circuit would have been overwhelming. That very demonstration of the way in which extremes meet was a positive confirmation of the Church's conclusions."

"However, it cannot be denied that the influence of the Guild Socialists--who were not out and out Syndicalists, but who sought to modify the extreme state worship of the orthodox Socialist movement--was considerable. In some measure the writing of A. R. Orage and G. D. H. Cole, at his youthful best, prevented the British Labor Party from becoming a strictly Marxist political agency. To the extent that I spread the Guild Socialist idea in America--and I read their publications avidly as they came from across the seas-- I helped to spread sane ideas in the 'progressive' labor movement."

Ibid., pp. 39-40.

"Though I had worked with Socialists, left and right wing, as well as with liberals, I was never one of them. In one sense only was I an incipient Marxist at the end of the St. Louis period. I recognized there was something wrong with capitalism and that if it could not right the wrong it would have to pass out of history. The connection of the utilities in that day with the worst elements in the political machines and the refusal of the right of association to the workers were blights that would have to be removed. The entire winter of 1914 I had studied Marxist literature in a special study course conducted voluntarily by two left-wing Socialists in the settlement, Neighborhood House. While Lewis Morgan's theories did not register with me at all, and Marxism in general was not accepted, I did 'leave my mind open' on the matter. Life was to provide the answer, and upon its course would rest any decision on my part."

Ibid., p. 55.

"To Kate Richards O'Hare, while she was in prison at Jefferson City, I had written: 'There is too much of conjecture in Morgan's conclusions on primitive society. As to the materialist conception of history, as expressed by Marx, that is something else again. I shall look into it thoroughly and study it over with care.'

"That letter was an omen as to what the future held in store. The materialist conception of history--under which mankind has supposedly proceeded from primitive communism to slavery to the feudal system to capitalism, through class struggle--was to captivate my mind and imagination for some years. It was the road that led me to the Communist camp. It armed my revolt against the Church with an 'intellectual' artillery.

"Its promise of the inevitability of Socialism long haunted me, as it does Communists everywhere, and furnished as much of a 'conscience' as those who reject all spiritual ties can have. Only God's grace and the recognition of the debacle that denial of the spiritual and moral law was bringing into the world could, after many years, make me appreciate its bankruptcy."

Ibid., p. 56.

"Unfortunately, such memories did not signify that I was still guided in my spiritual life by the signposts of the Church. These were days of drifting away from the Church. They were like the seeds thrown among thistles in the Quinquagesima Sunday gospel, with the everyday deeds eating up all religious impulses. 'For a vain matter and slight promise men fear not to toil day and night,' wrote the wise Thomas à Kempis four hundred years ago, 'but alas, for an unchangeable good, they grudge even the least fatigue.' In the quest for the public good the young man from Indiana was forgetting his own good, injuring his own integrity."

Ibid., pp. 56-57.

"A cloud of sorrow fell over my family... We were always kind to each other when we met and I visited them as much as I could. But there was a veil between us, we were careful how we spoke. When I told my father what had occurred, he said quietly, with a look of pain in his light blue eyes, 'You have sold your birthright...'"

Ibid., p. 57.

"That ended the chapter for good. Now I began to call myself a rationalist, though in a minor key. But there was a constant bitterness in my religious life, or lack of it, as though I always had a bad taste in my mouth. The 'De Profundis' came sometimes to my lips."

Ibid., pp. 57-58.

"Part of the pleasure in being New York-bound on that February day in 1920 was the opportunity it gave me to get away from the vacuum created by the absence of religious worship. The excitement of Gotham would do away with the

"tedium which often threatened to set in. From my earliest boyhood, the city on New York Bay had been a magnet, and was the goal for me, just as Paris was for many other people."

Ibid., p. 58.

"My hope then--the hope of so many other innocents--was that co-operation with the Communists would tend to change the course of their organization."

Ibid., p. 89.

"Why, after so many rebuffs, did I persist in finding ways and means to work with the Communists? There was, of course, the desire for unity behind such proposals as industrial unionism. There was the desire not to be a 'Red baiter,' that ridiculously fictitious label applied by the Communists to everybody who is not wholly with them. Then, there was the constant breast-beating of the Reds, which took me in pretty badly. They were always 'self-criticizing' and explaining that they had had the right line but had applied it wrongly. This gave me high hopes of showing them the light, and how to do things in an American way. Men like J. B. S. Hardman, then editor of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' paper, Advance, but formerly associated with the old Communist Workers Party, unconsciously helped perpetuate these fictions for me by saying that the Communist movement was all right in the Soviet Union but no good here."

Ibid., p. 98.

"The more I recoiled from the Trotskyites, and in this connection I met and disagreed with Cannon again, the more I inclined toward conciliation with the Communists."

Ibid., p. 100.

"One major reason for my constant attempts to co-operate with the Communist party was the gathering clouds of another war that darkened the world's horizon. It was all too visible to me, though many others did not seem to see it. The approaching Axis alliance against the democratic nations was, to me, a foregone conclusion."

"In the fall of 1934 I wrote a letter to the New York Sun, commenting on one of that paper's editorials, and I forecast the line-up in World War II just as it eventually occurred. Roughly, I said, there would be the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union against the Axis nations. The one thing impeding the alliance against the Axis, said I, is the 'vacillation of Great Britain.'"

Ibid., p. 112.

"These years of the early Thirties represent the lowest ebb in my religious life. The altar at St. Patrick's was a vague, misty memory. Some would call what had come over me a spiritual numbness. I was sufficiently impregnated with Marxism so that I now thought almost exclusively in terms of production--which eventually destroys all moral values."

Ibid., p. 115.

"My profound belief then was that the entry upon the People's Front had created an entirely new outlook for the Communist movement, both with regard to America and to religion. While the latter was no longer my prized possession, I considered it of the utmost importance that the anti-fascists keep their cause clean of antireligious persecution. To fight for freedom while denying the freedom of worship was completely contradictory. That the Soviet Union had offended seriously in this respect I knew well, but that had been laid to the 'excesses of revolutionary moments.' And now the prospect of a change was warmly welcome."

Ibid., p. 125.

"I immediately headed for membership in the Communist Party, and began to frequent those places in Manhattan where Communists I knew would most likely be found."

Ibid., p. 126.

"Within a few days I had run into an outstanding Party member whom I had known in the unemployed movement. He took me to Herbert Benjamin who, in turn, escorted me to Clarence Hathaway over at the Daily Worker. Hathaway and I had become quite friendly at the Continental Congress, which had been called in Washington by the Socialists in 1933. At that

"gathering I had introduced a resolution to include the Communists in 'a broad united front.' But now we talked over my present position and Hathaway suggested I apply for membership in the 'Party of Stalin.' The card was signed and for ten years thereafter, night and day, I worked for that party and its purposes as I saw them."

Ibid., p. 126.

"If you skim through the Daily Worker files of 1934 you will run across my statement upon joining the Party, proclaiming the leadership of Browder and Stalin. It was written with wide-open eyes, for it affirms 'the road of the revolutionist' to be 'the path of the Comintern.' Although I would then have heatedly denied any such accusation, it did present a blank check to whoever led the Communist movement. That it would enmesh me in a thought-controlled world almost as tight as the Japanese system--beyond the comprehension or experience of the average American--was something I did not dream. I was still thinking in an atmosphere of freedom, where men need not dread political or physical assassination for deviation or differences from the 'powers that be.' The mental imprisonment that exists in the Communist camp was beyond even my more or less sophisticated speculations. But as I discovered with bitterness, when a man enters there he signs his death warrant as a free agent in thought or word or deed."

Ibid., pp. 127-128.

"I was soon to learn that the Soviet Government was not content with control of the Party in the United States via the Browder transmission line alone. It also had direct representatives in the Communist apparatus here. The first incident that brought this fact to my attention I dubbed rather gaily 'The Case of the Cantankerous Commissar.' A mysterious personage by the ambiguous name of Edwards came into the picture as soon as I was made labor editor of the Daily Worker. This was a few months after my entry into the Party. Ever since the day I announced my membership I had served on the Communist newspaper but at first only in a general reportorial capacity."

Ibid., p. 135.

"By Christmas, 1936, the days of the 'outstretched hand' had come. The Communists, under the influence of the People's Front tactic, were talking with a new tongue to the Catholics throughout the world. The previous tirades against the followers of the Holy See as 'reactionaries and semi-fascists' were silenced. The men of Moscow had hushed even those few harsh notes even at the democracy-talking Seventh Congress of the Communist International, when the Red youth had been counseled to work to keep Catholic young people away from the orbit of the priesthood.

"The 'outstretched hand' phrase, which was now so far-flung and famous, had its genesis in the radio broadcast of Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist party, on April 17, 1936. He had been selected by Moscow to make an advance to those whom the Kremlin had hitherto assailed. He offered professions of friendly advice to the Catholics, and extended the Communists' hand 'in fraternal greeting and cooperation.'

"During the following year, 1937, Thorez was to add: 'Unity between Catholic and Communists is necessary; it is possible; it is about to be achieved. All that is needed is mutual good faith and a mutual spirit of tolerance. For our part, whatever happens, whatever people say and whatever they do, we are firmly determined to persevere in our policy of the outstretched hand.'

Ibid., p. 152.

"It must be remembered how, from my youth, I had felt that an alliance of the labor movement and the Catholic Church would greatly benefit to our nation. Now, when I considered the Communist party as an advanced expression of labor, the good that would be derived from Catholic-Communist collaboration—not only in this country but in the international arena as well—seemed tremendous.

"When Christmas, 1936, came around, I expressed these dreams in a Communist message of peace and good will to the Catholic people. In the Daily Worker on Christmas morning, a well-displayed 'greeting' of almost three columns in length appeared from my pen. It was the chief feature of that issue. 'Communists Hold Out Hand of Fellowship to All Enemies of War'

"and Oppression" said its headline. Early in its course the article asked: 'Where is the peace which is our Christmas hope? And where the road that will lead to this achievement? Will the Christmas motto remain only the words "Peace, Peace" in a world in which there is no peace?"

Ibid., p. 154.

"There is this merit in the Communist view that does not inhere in fascism," I contended. "Communism has within it the promise of democracy and the end of dictatorship in its doctrine of the withering away of the state." I was still at the old theme, which had been on my lips and in my mind since the St. Louis days when I read Engels and swallowed his estimate of how the Socialist revolution would proceed."

Ibid., pp. 161-162.

"Far from preparing my return to the Church, I began to work even more eagerly for the Communist cause and planned article upon article in behalf of 'closer Communist-Catholic relations.'

Ibid., pp. 165-166.

"One of these current phenomena which kept me on my course was the Communist overestimation of what was going forward in Soviet Russia. We Communists literally doused overselves with Soviet 'good points.' Everything in our United States had defects; everything in the U.S.S.R. was perfect. That's the way the theme went, and even I who had always been cautious in my estimate of the Soviet Union and had merely related it to Dickens' asperities toward early America, was swept off my feet by the reiterations. Though this may seem strange, it is no more surprising than that scientists, physicians, lawyers, 'practical men' and alleged statesmen are today taking an even more one-sided attitude toward Soviet Russia and what it is up to--and much more water has flowed into the sea of history."

Ibid., pp. 166-167.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED LOUIS BUDENZ AWAY
FROM COMMUNISM

"When a man denies his soul God's sunlight and faith, he substitutes a pride in his intellect which he dubs 'conviction.' That was my fatal error."

Ibid., p. 253.

"In my secret thoughts, nevertheless, I was the pursued by that Hound of Heaven of which the sweet-voiced Francis Thompson tells. I fled Him, down the nights and down the days, I fled Him, down the arches of the years."

Ibid., p. 80.

"All the American Communist leaders with whom I became intimately acquainted had one common characteristic--a form of fright. In off-the-record conferences, and private discussions, this was very noticeable. Around each one of them there hung an atmosphere of mystery and suspicion, accompanied by this stigmata of fear."

Ibid., p. 187.

"Nowhere has a true-to-life description been presented of the mental concentration camp in America known as the Communist Party. Several people has essayed it with indifferent success."

Ibid., p. 233.

"The first requisite for a Communist is to understand that he is serving Soviet Russia and no other nation or interest. Never will he be permitted to express one word of reservation or criticism of the Soviet Government, its leaders or their decisions. Whatever they say or do is always 100 per cent. right, and America can be right only by being in complete agreement with the Soviet Union. Never, during the twenty-five years of its existence, has the Daily Worker deviated from that rule; never has it ceased to prostrate itself before the Soviet leadership."

Ibid., p. 234.

"The professional Red must next recognize that his life and career may be secretly and repeatedly studied by Soviet agents. Records are kept of each member in any kind of key post, just as they would be for those engaged by any other espionage system. When a member takes up a new post, he must file a complete new biography. This is checked for new data and also to observe if it differs from the ones previously filed. In his biography he is required to list his relatives, where they were born and now live, their occupation, and his relations with them. His entire personal and labor history must be given--previous marriages if any, his children and his arrests in labor disputes. He must also give a complete accounting of his financial resources, the average salary he has received throughout his working life, any bonds or other property he ever owned, and what he now owns; if anything. He is expected to record his motives for doing certain things if they are deemed important and must list any organizations he has joined throughout his life. His Party record must be given in detail. There is nothing left uncovered by these biographies."

Ibid., p. 235.

"Properly disciplined, the professional Communist must always be ready to be at the command of any one of the men of the mist who may present himself. Out of nowhere, as though he became visible through a heavy fog, one of these men will suddenly float into the life of a comrade, introduced by some superior Party member. Then will begin furtive meetings, and the comrade will be required to get certain information in the special field or community or group in which he lives and labors. Occasionally he may be given a vague hint of why the information is necessary, if that will expedite his getting it, but often he hasn't the slightest notion, unless he can guess for himself."

"The men of the mist themselves fall into at least five categories. There are the actual members of the Soviet secret police, operating on American soil. They are 'business men,' or 'experts' or, as during the war, 'military men.' Practically all of them are Russian-born, here ostensibly for trade commission purposes or some other legitimate end. They stay far away from any Party office and also avoid the vicinity of the Russian consulate or embassy. Then, there are the 'alias men' functioning in or around the Party apparatus.

"They may have positions of an executive character (dealing with funds or fund raising). They are quiet-moving, quiet-speaking people, as a rule, and frequently have strong Russian accents. Sometimes they turn up in the role of supervisors of the Party's 'political health,' and examine or edit its publications from a background position. Their posts vary from semipublic places within the Party to more shady and secretive assignments. Since their roles change, within the space of a few months one might run into them in one capacity or the other."

Ibid., pp. 239-240.

"It was in October, 1943, that I finally made up my mind to return to the Catholic Church, no matter what the cost. If that entailed a break with the Communist organization, then I would."

Ibid., p. 314.

"Even at this hour of my spiritual advance, my outlook was tempered by the hope (now dimming rapidly) that Communism and Catholicism could be brought together. And two more years of agonizing over that hope were still to follow before the promise which I made to myself in 1941 and repeated in 1943 was fulfilled. 'Why all this dallying and delaying?' many will ask--and with good cause. Indeed, many of them have asked me or Margaret why I lingered so long in the camp of Communism. Unfortunately, it is a question more readily asked than answered. Again I can only resort to St. Augustine, in whose Confessions, as he spoke to God I read: 'These things went through my mind, and the wind blew one way and another, and tossed my heart this way and that. Time was passing and I delayed to return to the Lord. From day to day I postponed life in You.' And again, farther on in his journey, 'I indeed was in both camps, but more in that which I approved for myself than in that which I disapproved. For in a sense it was no longer I that was in this second camp, because in large part I rather suffered it unwillingly than did it with my will. Yet habit had grown stronger against me by my own act, since I had come willingly where I did not now will to be. Who can justly complain when just punishment overtakes the sinner?'"

Ibid., pp. 314-315.

"Since I had clouded my vision with materialism, was it any wonder that I should grope and grasp for shadows, straining to see the right way and yet not perceiving it? As a Communist I had striven to persuade the Catholics that the battle against anti-Catholic totalitarianism and Ku Klux Klanism lay in alliance with the Communists. Now, as a Catholic, I would say to the Communists, while remaining in their ranks, that understanding with the three hundred million Catholics of Europe and the twenty-five million Catholics in America was vital to their cause. So I reasoned with myself like a man in a dream. Augustine put it well when he compared such a man 'of both camps' to one awakened from his sleep. He knows that he must get up, and yet wants to linger a little longer on his couch."

Ibid., p. 315.

"One providential fruit came from such halting and hesitation: I examined the Communist position and Communist methods of treachery and deceit fully and critically. And thereby learned the truth concerning the Communist conspiracy against America and Catholicism. I was enabled to grasp the realities of the Soviet Union's concerted and unrelenting determination to crush both religion and our nation and to pursue a study of these objectives to the bitter end."

Ibid., p. 315.

"If this deluge of deceit is being poured out in the midst of coalition warfare, I inquired of myself, 'what will be the state of affairs when that war has come to an end?' It did not presage peace. Even on the eve of the meeting of the Allied chiefs, the scuttling of any terms agreed upon was already arranged by the Soviet Union and its agents. Why should such a disruptive attitude be maintained by the Soviet Government?

"It was not hard to find the answer. The basis of Communism is the denial of the moral law. While presenting itself as a remedy for the evils of extreme economic liberalism, it contains the same poison within its system as the philosophy it condemns. They both reject genuine order and morality. While loudly claiming that it will halt social disintegration, Communism speeds that disintegration, for deceit as the basis of 'morality' and slavery as the height of 'freedom'

"are the benighted outcomes of materialism. There would be no peace if that sort of conduct continued. That's what my knowledge of Soviet aims taught me in 1943, and I was profoundly disturbed. The thing to do was to return to the moral foundations from which I had fled--to the Church, which calmly presents the moral law as essential for man and the sole course for real peace."

Ibid., p. 320.

"One thing I can note as having been of some consequence. That was the general morbidity of so many of my comrades, their furtive unhappiness with life and the unendurable aspect of the years stretching ahead of them. In my capacity as managing editor of the paper, many avowals of moral weariness were given me--and they came to pain as well as to enlighten. Only the other day I read in a Chicago paper the oft-repeated tale of 'fanaticism and boundless energy' of the Communists--and those qualities were highly commended. Doubtless, others might learn from them in zeal, but I happen to know that in countless cases this endless activity arises from a feverish desire to get away from the deep challenges of life."

Ibid., p. 231.

"What seemed to me particularly offensive and fatal to the expansion of real democracy was the organized deceit planned against the American people."

Ibid., p. 322.

"The ordinary American has no idea of the alien world which exists right here in our own country, as exemplified by the Communist Party. He or she would be astounded to enter the actual life of a leading Communist Party member, and to discover the intellectual strait jacket in which that person is imprisoned. The leaders of that party are in the darkest ignorance as to what is occurring in the country they serve, Soviet Russia, and yet follow every beck and call of those who command them from abroad. Here is a walled-in community, in the midst of free America, whose leadership works secretly in the shadows and is not unfrequently dictated to by the secret police or other agents of a foreign government and even threatened on occasion with removal by such police. And yet, I, a fourth

"generation American, have witnessed such occurrences with my own eyes and heard them with my own ears."

Ibid., p. xi.

"During those evenings at the Daily Worker, as we put the paper to bed, I worked out the connection between Hitlerism and Soviet totalitarianism. They were both founded on hate. And no such materialist doctrine could ever save the world. Instead, it was leading the world into another conflict before World War II was even completed. There must be a return to the belief in human brotherhood... The dignity of man could be safeguarded only through a full understanding of his relation to Divinity. This was essential for America too, for some of our own national defects were the results of moral shortcomings, of the rejection of the gospel of love."

Ibid., pp. 323-324.

"When I quit the Communist Party the Reds made an attempt to throw dust into the American people's eyes concerning their stand on religion. They asserted that any Communist could be a member of any religious body. The assertion was made through Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who was chosen to attack me because she had been for years the most friendly to me. That is always the Red test of discipline.

"Her assertion was utterly incorrect. For the ordinary worker, 'the rank and file,' the Party follows Lenin's advice. That a worker is permitted to become a member even though he has religious sentiments, and once in the Party, the comrades will wean him away from religion. For anyone in a post of leadership, however, religious affiliation is strictly forbidden unless the Political Committee says that for 'tactical purposes' he must join a religious group. But in order to do so, his basic atheism is first well established.

"This atheism for all leading Reds is acknowledged by none other than Gil Green, speaking as secretary of the Young Communist League of the United States at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935. That was the 'broadening' Congress, you will recall, the 'democratic and People's Front Congress.' But even there, when the Communists were trying to look 'democratic,' Green was compelled to testify publicly to the atheism of the Young Communists. In his

"report, which can be read in the International Press Correspondence for 1935, Green referred to the method of handling young people who want to go to church. He explained in detail how the genuine Young Communists work with them and stressed that in doing so the young Reds preserve their 'atheistic integrity.'

"In tracing the Communist course on religion, we are confronted with the same deep-dyed deception that stamps their other activities. Duplicity was created, it is true, long before the Communists came upon the scene. Its history is long and lugubrious. In the case of the Communists, though, it has been elevated to the importance of a first principle. 'Democracy' is their term for dictatorship, 'elections' are the imposition of hand-picked slates on nations and peoples, 'defense' is aggrandizement by the Soviet Union, but air bases for the United States' security is 'imperialist aggression,' and democracy is 'fascism.'"

Ibid., pp. 362-363.

"...Communism arises from the defects and diseases of capitalism. In recognizing the perils of Red Fascism, we Americans will have to bestir ourselves to buttress our liberties by what might be called a 'modified capitalism.' Therein profit sharing on a legitimate basis, extension of security and a further cushioning and curbing of the business cycle can be outstanding features."

Ibid., p. 370.

"Faith does not arise from being against something so much as being for something."

Ibid., p. 352.

CHARLOTTE HALDANE

This person is the former wife (divorced in 1945) of the noted English scientist and Communist, J. B. S. Haldane. On joining the Communist Party in 1937, she devoted herself wholeheartedly to the cause of Communism, serving as "a secret agent" in France, Spain, and China. While making her second visit to Russia in 1941, she became thoroughly disillusioned with the abolition of freedom and tyrannical procedures prevalent in that nation and on returning to England she left the Communist Party. She is the authoress of numerous books.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED CHARLOTTE

HALDANE IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"Now, for the background....

"My father, throughout our childhood, showed little personal interest in my sister and myself. He was the only male member of an otherwise entirely feminine household, consisting of his wife, two daughters, governess, and various female servants. I in turn worshipped and hated this alien and unfamiliar person of the masculine sex, who was the controller of my destiny. I had been born into a foreign family, domiciled in England. I loved everything English in contrast to everything foreign--my English nannie, my English school, English games and English food. I detested my German governess and all things German. But at the age of eleven I was uprooted in the interests of my father's business policy, taken to live in Belgium, and educated at a German school there. At sixteen, during the 'Sturm and Drang' period of my adolescence, I was once again torn from an environment to which, after great initial sufferings and difficulties, I had begun to adapt, because my father had decided to close the Belgian branch of his business and return to London. I was a little alien once again. I was about to enter Bedford

"College, when my poor dear Papa lost most of his capital. Instead, I was sent to a secretarial school in the City of London; perhaps the bitterest disillusionment of my life. Then came the 1914-1918 war. My father had neglected to become a British citizen, in spite of thirty-three years' domicile in England. In consequence, I was debarred, as the child of an 'alien enemy,' from any participation in the mere thrilling and patriotically satisfying branches of national defence."

Truth Will Out by Charlotte Haldane, The Vanguard Press, Inc., New York, 1950, pp. 302, 303 - 304.

"It seems as if there were little lacking in this unstable and insecure background to provide me with an *Edipus complex*, an *inferiority complex*, and an *anxiety neurosis*. Fortunately, my mental and physical health were excellent and enabled me to avoid becoming a neurotic or a psychopath. I had an unusual amount of vitality and an insatiable zest for life. Nevertheless, the rationalisation and sublimation of my hatred and my resentment towards my parents caused me to become, from childhood onwards, more aggressive than was desirable."

Ibid., p. 304.

"I became an atheist. At sixteen, I was an ardent feminist and suffragette. My difficulties in the labour market, and especially in my early Fleet Street days, in competition with men, did nothing to lessen this aggressive feminism. Naturally enough, as soon as I began to think politically, I also became a Socialist, and one of the earliest members of my Trade Union, the National Union of Journalists."

Ibid., p. 304.

"For as soon as I attained the status of a wage-earner, I began to chafe at the maternal guiding-reins and the bit. My mother was still expecting

"the arrival of the rich, handsome, socially eligible young suitor who was to ask for my hand. But I soon disappointed these hopes by becoming engaged to a charming and penniless young man, Ellen Tuckfield's cousin. I married him in 1918, at the end of the first world war."

Ibid., p. 9.

"I was twenty-four years old when my son was born. The fact that I had myself been so constantly thwarted and repressed throughout my childhood made me determine that I would take nothing from him, nor withhold anything from him. I wanted to give him the advantages I felt myself to have missed; above all, social and economic security, and mental and physical freedom."

Ibid., p. 9.

"Unfortunately, as the result of the first world war, in which he served with distinction in the frightful battles of Arras and Ypres, my husband was permanently incapacitated, and prevented from aiding these ambitions of mine. Our financial affairs became hopelessly unsatisfactory. I had acquired from both my parents a luxurious standard of living, a total inability to save money, and especially from my father, a Micawberish trust that something was always bound to turn up."

Ibid., p. 9.

"At one o'clock on Monday morning, a boy from the porter's office down below brought me a slip inscribed 'J. B. S. Haldane' in a remarkably unformed hand. We lunched at Scott's, on lobster and hock....

"I had forgotten what little mathematics or science I had once known. But now I need worry no longer. I had found, apparently, my predestined teacher. For teaching was J. B. S.'s supreme hobby, as learning was mine. After that first luncheon,

"we met more and more frequently. He lectured, I listened....The lectures and lessons, in mathematics, physics, astronomy, geology, bio-chemistry, physiology, genetics, continued.

"But it soon became clear that my don and mentor was not interested merely in the cultivation of my mind. I was wholly in love with his mind, and when, with a charming affectation of eighteenth-century gallantry he 'implored my favours' I did not withhold them. In any case, coyness was not natural to me."

Ibid., p. 20.

"I had been introduced to this exalted circle as the result of J. B. S.'s plan to marry me. When he first mentioned it, I was overwhelmed by conflicting emotions. I was, as it happened, already married....

"The temptation was almost irresistible, yet I hesitated. I pointed out to J. B. S. the many difficulties and disadvantages in the situation. Before we could marry, there would have to be a divorce; I was twenty-eight years old; I might be unable to have any more children. I suggested that before we took this grave step, we should start a baby. I had no fear of social ostracism, and as a feminist I considered myself entitled to have a child if I desired one."

Ibid., pp. 22, 23.

"I had made up my mind to ask him for a divorce....I was well aware that the poor man still loved me, I knew the hurt I was doing him with every word I spoke; yet I could not now change my course. Nevertheless, I was both shocked and surprised when he implacably refused to allow me to divorce him....

"However, rightly or wrongly, when once I have resolved on a course of action, I cannot be deflected from it by threats nor by fear of the

"consequences. Neither was J. B. S. intimidated by the prospect of becoming a co-respondent. And it was a fact that, at that time, our English divorce laws were both legally antiquated and morally indefensible, and could not be regarded, objectively, with any respect at all. This gave me the necessary courage to go through with the divorce, as a matter of principle as well as of personal choice."

Ibid., p. 24.

"At the time of my marriage to Professor Haldane, I was seeking, and believed I had found, emotional compensation for my youthful frustrations. This marriage gave me, for the first time since childhood, economic security and an assured social position; but also--and, to my temperament, far more important--the opportunity to complete my too suddenly interrupted education. I had been deprived of the chance of going to a university, but now, in a manner of speaking, I 'went up' to Cambridge with emotions of anticipatory delight that few of the undergraduates who did so in a more conventional fashion can have felt more strongly.

"Apart from the joys provided by my garden, my greenhouses, and my Bechstein piano, my happiest recollections of those early Cambridge years are centred around the sessions J. B. S. and I used to have in his study at our home, Roebuck House. Until the early hours of the morning, frequently, we would discuss religions and philosophies, ethical systems, anthropology and sociology. However, we were and remained agnostics and rationalists, members of the Rationalist Press Association, an organisation founded by an eminent Victorian non-divine, Mr. C. A. Watt, of whom an irreverent wit wrote a limerick which remains among my favourite examples of the genre:-

'There was an old man of Moldavia,
Who did not believe in our Saviour;
So he founded instead,
With himself as the head,
The cult of decorous behaviour.'"

Ibid., pp. 304 - 305.

"At this time, the works of Freud were being increasingly read by those who, under the intellectual spell of the Bloomsbury school of writers and poets, were becoming fascinated by the discoveries of psycho-analysis, and its interpretations of human motives and behaviour. I, too, was strongly influenced by this fashion."

Ibid., p. 33.

"It was not until I read Engels's Anti-Dühring that I found the emotional as well as the intellectual stimulus necessary to bring about that heightening of consciousness and resolution that are symptomatic of a true religious conversion. I was converted to Marxism by this, perhaps the most brilliantly written of all its holy texts, and from then onwards, until 1941, I was a fervent and fanatical believer."

"I have briefly recalled the salient factors of my own youthful story here because I do not think my case is unique, but is, on the contrary, representative in one detail or another of the psychological conflicts that lead most of the so-called intellectuals to Marxism; to its emotional, apart from its intellectual, rewards and compensations. Marx stated that religion was the opium of the people... He omitted, however, with a superficiality that is very frequent in his dicta, to consider the case of the anti-religious, for whom Marxism fulfils very similar emotional criteria."

Ibid., pp. 305 - 306.

"J. B. S. and myself were not among those who desired to remain intellectually immune from these contaminating influences. Our interest in politics had always been a strong one. We both were and had been, long before we had met, socialists and, to use the horrible cliche that, at about that period, began to pass into the

"language, 'left-wing intellectuals.' Temperamentally also, we were strongly inclined to radicalism; both of us were psychologically counter-suggestible types, but also capable of enthusiastic interest in the social experiments now beginning to take place in the worlds of politics and economics."

"So it was that we began to feel more than slight curiosity in the Soviet Union, and in the theories of Marx and Engels which had inspired Lenin and Trotsky, and on which this State was founded. When the opportunity arose to visit the Soviet Union, we eagerly accepted it."

Ibid., p. 37.

"I gave up my literary career, after 1936, to become an active anti-Nazi. In 1937 I joined the Communist Party, and went to work 'underground' in Paris, as a voluntary organiser for the Comintern, which was sending the International Brigade to fight for Republican Spain. In 1938 I visited the British Battalion on the Spanish battlefield, and later in that year I went to China as a Comintern agent."

Ibid., p. 1.

"I myself had become a rebel against Cambridge intellectual and social snobbery. After a few years I was profoundly bored with both. My spiritual and emotional quest was driving me on as ruthlessly as ever; I had found no inner peace beside the rather turgid and shallow waters of the Cam. My personal life contained another frustration; for as the years passed it seemed less and less likely that I would have the children for whom I had longed."

Ibid., p. 54.

"The rise of the Nazis, the persecution of innocent Jews, the rabid attack on all forms of culture precious to a civilised person, the horrors of the concentration camps, were responsible, as these dreadful events unfolded themselves, for driving me further and further leftward."

Ibid., p. 68.

"Towards the end of 1937, I was asked if I would be willing to go to Spain as guide and interpreter to the famous negro singer, Paul Robeson. Paul had been to Moscow, and had been won over, naturally, by the complete absence of a colour-bar in the Soviet Union. This is one of the most important Soviet propaganda points..."

Ibid., p. 124.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED
CHARLOTTE HADDANE AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"I had no regrets at leaving the Soviet Union in 1928, but, on the contrary, a feeling of relief.... The suggestion of police surveillance of other than Russian nationals made an unpleasant impression....

"I had learned on my first trip to Russia that the Russians did not regard themselves as Europeans. But I would not have understood them and their background nearly so well, thirteen years later, had I not, before my second visit, been to China."

Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

"This secret police organisation, so hateful to Western consciences (with their traditions of individual liberty and freedom, based on the Pax Romana, Christianity, Magna Carta, the theories of the French Encyclopaedists, and the Code Napoleon), is, of course, a perfectly normal feature of Oriental tradition. The Western concept of 'Justice,' blind and impartial, a thing, a sacred thing, in itself, finds no response in the Oriental mind. If your enemy, whether in private or in public life, is within your power, you destroy him. He accepts the situation, with that famous Oriental fatalism which is not a figment of the Western imagination, but a definite reality to those who possess it. Nor does he hesitate, if you fall within his power, to destroy you with equally simple promptitude and efficiency."

Ibid., p. 247.

"J. B. S. did not share my lack of enthusiasm, as the result of this first glimpse of the Soviet world. To him, its outstanding characteristic was the Soviet attitude to science and scientists.

"Lenin, who had spent most of his life in Europe, returned home convinced that only large-scale electrification, and applied scientific techniques on the vastest possible plan, could secure a sound economic basis for the Revolution. So it came about that, at the time of our visit in 1928, the scientists and the factory workers were the most favoured classes. Pavlov could look forward to another eight years of fruitful research and personal success, before the attack on him was launched that eventually ended in his disgrace and death, in 1942. Levit and many other colleagues of J. B. S. were enjoying superb opportunities for research and a distinguished social position. It was perhaps not undreamed of in their philosophy, even then, that after a few years of Stalinism, scientists, no more than writers or artists, would any longer be immune from heresy-hunting and persecution by charlatans, rivals, and Party Inquisitors. It was certainly undreamed of in my husband's."

Ibid., p. 51.

"The first Soviet scientist to become much talked about abroad was the physiologist, Pavlov. Particularly his experiments on conditioned reflexes in dogs were arousing very great interest and receiving much publicity in the popular Press of that time. But in scientific circles Pavlov had been internationally famous long before the Revolution. He was born in 1849, and received the Nobel Prize in 1904. By 1917 he was a national institution and an enormous propaganda asset to his country, although he was said to scorn and despise the Bolsheviks and their Society of the Godless, and to have heard Mass regularly until he died in 1936, fortified by the rites of the Greek Orthodox Church."

Ibid., pp. 38 - 39.

"On my return from Russia I began to take a more serious interest in the study of dialectical materialism. My first impression of the Soviet Union, or rather my first superficial view of it, had been

in an unfavourable one. Nevertheless, there had been several impressive glimpses of individuals and institutions that could engender optimism for the future of this colossal new social and political experiment, which, at that time, was eleven years old. Both in Russia and among left-wing intellectuals outside it, propaganda was always at elbow to explain away failures, crudities, mistakes, as chiefly or solely due to the bad heritage left over by Czarism, the civil wars, the wars of intervention, and climatic conditions; all of which had combined to produce the great famines, the acute housing shortage, the lack of consumer goods, the criminal wandering children, and, in fact, all the evils of the situation at that time. Many of these excuses were, of course, valid. They were always combined with highly optimistic promises for the glorious future....

"So it was not difficult to forget or to smother unpleasant memories of the Russian regime, and to concentrate one's interest and sympathy on the bright side."

Ibid., pp. 52, 53.

"One of the most favourable aspects of the Soviet system, from my point of view, was its racial policy of social and political equality for all Soviet citizens. At that time Soviet sympathisers failed to take account of the fact--and many to this day still do so--that this tolerance was based not recently on the new Russian outlook, but had its roots, through Marx--a Jew--in the tradition of the great French Revolution; in 'Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite' and in the principles of the Rights of Man, formulated, among others, by Benjamin Franklin and Tom Paine--who had themselves participated in the Revolution...."

Ibid., p. 53.

"When I was in China in 1938 I did not anticipate this tremendous triumph of the Communists to occur only eleven years later. I did, however, with absolute certainty, foresee their eventual victory. My reasons for this view were partly historical, partly political. I do not think it is a fluke of history that Marxist theory was first converted into practice in the most backward of all so-called European countries, in Russia. The Soviet leaders do not regard themselves as Europeans, nor, exactly, as Asiatics; they constantly stress their intermediate geographical and cultural position between the two continents. But--and this is to my mind both a curious and a fundamental factor in the success of Communism a century after the publication of the Communist Manifesto--the theory and practice of this pseudo-religion and politico-economic system are peculiarly adapted to the needs and aspirations of backward peoples; of the Chinese in particular, who have emerged into the twentieth century straight from the feudal-mediaeval type of society; without a religion or modern industrial organisation. Not only Nature abhors a vacuum. The Chinese have, of course, never known the benefits as well as the disadvantages of the Graeco-Christian culture and the political and industrial revolutions as they developed in Europe."

Ibid., p. 158.

"The two main cultural influences in Europe after the Renaissance, the humanistic tradition of the ancient Greeks (from which sprang neo-classicism, mathematics, pure and applied science) and the Christian religion (which emphasised the importance of the individual human souls to save whom Christ died) were a lien to Chinese thought and practice. Neither the humanistic discipline nor the Christian ever took root in China. When Marxism made its appearance in Europe, in the nineteenth century, and for several years after, it progressed very slowly against the prevailing humanist and Christian tradition and culture, to both of which the theories,

"of Marx and Engels were in strenuous ideological opposition. But after 1917, after the return to Russia of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, Marxism found a soil far more Asiatic than European, in which it speedily developed into Leninist-Stalinist theory and practice. And the Russian derivation of Marxism, tinged deeply as it is with Oriental influences, was easily assimilable in China."

Ibid., p. 159 - 160.

"...I became convinced of its ultimate inevitability" (Communism in China), "as I stressed on my return to London, when I made my report to the China Bureau of the British Communist Party."

Ibid., p. 163.

"In spite of the political allegiance which had taken me so far afield, or perhaps because of it, I had found myself increasingly homesick during my Chinese travels. However, I found that my personal affairs, like the political scene, had undergone a change during my absence. I began to consider whether I ought not to take steps to obtain a divorce. I discussed the question with Bill Rust, with whom I was at that period still on terms of close personal friendship, while also, of course, under Party discipline. I was firmly informed by him that the Party would not for one moment tolerate a divorce between two comrades whose partnership, in addition to the usefulness of their individual services, was of immense propaganda value to it."

Ibid., p. 176.

"...the Communist faith recognises no absolute moral values. Its policy in this, as in other matters, is entirely one of opportunism. Its decisions rest on political expediency, and its moral standards change according to the Party line at any given moment. In the Soviet Union, in the early revolutionary days, divorce was obtained as easily as a postage

stamp is bought in a London post office. After a few years, however, it was decided that this line was inimical to the family, and the propagation of young Russians. The line was switched, and divorce became increasingly difficult and expensive to obtain. For the same reason, abortion, which had for a time been legalised, became once more a penal offence."

Ibid., pp. 176 - 177.

"In Kutbyshev the local food supply disappeared almost overnight. The first day of our arrival, the food shops were stacked with loaves of bread and other provisions... The supplies disappeared, and were not replaced. The authorities opened a special shop for the foreigners only. The windows were piled high with bread, cheese, butter, cold meats, sausages, provisions of every kind, with caviare, vodka, champagne by dozens of bottles. The manager was provided with a book, containing the names of all those entitled to buy there. Outside the door stood a guard, a uniformed N. K. V. D. soldier, with rifle and fixed bayonet. I went there to buy my ration of chocolate, to take with me on the return journey. As I came up to the door, an old Jew paused, to peer at the rich spectacle displayed in the window. The soldier moved him on, roughly. 'Not for you,' he said, 'only for foreigners.'

"I was already feeling shame and remorse. On the way to the shop, I had encountered a crowd of women in white shawls, gathered around a droshky, an open carriage, pulled by a tired old horse... In the carriage sat two weeping women--one elderly, the other young, fair, and pretty. I mingled with the crowd and let myself be jostled to the edge of the carriage. The sobbing younger woman carried on her lap a small cardboard box, similar to those in which large Christmas dolls used to be sold in the London shops. It was festooned with a wreath of wired white and red paper flowers. In it lay the doll, the waxen corpse of a small child of about two, neatly and carefully dressed in its

'best suit of pale blue woolness. The young mother was carrying her child, dead from starvation, to the graveyard....'

"Standing by the side of that dead baby, I swore a silent oath that never again would I get on any platform, anywhere, at any time, to use my oratorical or persuasive gifts to convince an audience of working-class men, women, and children, that the Soviet Union was the hope of the toilers of the world."

Ibid., pp. 232 - 233.

"I can only explain it as due to the extreme sickness of my over-sensitive conscience, the revolt of my sense of morality, the re-awakening of my mind and ratiocinatory faculties from a deep, drugged sleep."

Ibid., p. 233.

"I knew that for me this was the end, that on my return to London I would sever my connection with the Communist Party. That decision was irrevocable. But it caused me conflicting emotional reactions. The first was a sense of colossal relief at having recovered my spiritual and intellectual integrity. For four years---since 1937---I had been under 'Party discipline.' I had been compelled to subordinate my judgment, on important or trivial matters, to that of my political superiors. I had had to adjust even my most private personal relationships to their discipline. I had severed all my previous non-political contacts and friendships. Most of my non-political friends had 'dropped' me. I had become an intolerable bore with my incessant propaganda and requests for help for the cause I served, either for money or for services."

Ibid., p. 238.

"My sense of guilt was one part of the complex. The other was almost pure rage. I had been guilty, in accepting Communism, of lack of faith in my own country, tradition, and people. But if I had been a moral knave, as well as a fool, what was to be said of those of my compatriots whose dupe I had to a minor extent been? A minor extent because I felt that in my case I myself was mostly to blame. But could one say the same of the

"rank-and-file comrades, the workers with their hands, who had never had the opportunities for education, travel, cultivation of the mind, spiritual development, I had had? What was the responsibility of the leadership of the British Communist Party towards these men and women, of the members of the British Politburo, most of whom had at one time or another been to the Soviet Union, seen things for themselves as I had seen them, and had nevertheless come back, as paid agitators and propagandists, to persuade the British workers to trade their precious tradition of freedom, their inalienable rights of man, for a voluntary submission to a modern form of Oriental despotism? I shall refer to this point in greater detail later. For the present it is enough to say that I returned to England filled with hatred and contempt for those Party leaders whom formerly I had respected and befriended as trusted comrades.

"...I arrived safely in Glasgow on November 22nd, 1941."

Ibid., p. 240.

"I think it is quite impossible to form a correct estimate of Russian Soviet theory and practice-- government, social organisations, and ways of living-- without at least some personal experience of general Asiatic life in these aspects.

"Perhaps the most striking similarity between China and Russia, and their joint dissimilarity to the countries of Western Europe, lies in the fact that both are huge, subcontinental lands, inhabited by millions of peasants, whose economic and cultural living conditions are, judging by Western standards, equally and abysmally low....

"It is not only on political grounds that in Oriental lands human life and the individual are valued so lightly that, from a Westerner's point of view, the

"callous indifference to physical and mental suffering one finds in both China and Russia are profoundly shocking. The sentimental European must, however, learn, as I did, that in these Asiatic countries man has as yet hardly begun to control his vast and constantly menacing environment. In these enormous countries, flood and drought have since time immemorial, year after year, wiped out millions. Famine is familiar; pestilence, endemic. In such conditions, individual human survival becomes of relatively trivial worth. It is notable in both countries that when a party or a banquet is given, the guests gorge themselves to suffocation. But it is all very well for the genteel Westerners to regard such greed with contempt and disgust; by doing so, they only display their own ignorance of its historical and social raisons-d'être. When your ancestors, for several past generations, have not known where the next meal is coming from; when your mother or your grandmother lest her children because she had nothing to fill their empty little bellies with except grass, which swelled up within them and caused them to burst, like balloons, it is small wonder that, when free and luxurious food is spread before you, you eat (even if you yourself are now lucky enough to get a fairly square meal every day) as the Germans say, 'for the hunger that may come.'"

Ibid., pp. 241 - 242, 243.

"The lack of respect for human life, the indifference to human suffering, I encountered in Kūibyshev, for example, would have been taken for granted by any visitor entering the Soviet Union from the East. The abundance of food in that town, for inhabitants and foreigners, amongst which the refugees were starving to death, was nothing new to me. In Chengtu, in Szechwan, I had once watched a Chinese shopkeeper's family gorging themselves, as they sat around the table in the shop, which

"was only separated from the pavement by a wooden lattice. Outside this lattice stood a woman and a boy, in the last stages of emaciation, watching the sight as the inmates of a Dantesque Inferno might be vouchsafed a glimpse of the blessed ones, feasting in Paradise. They were about to die of starvation at any moment. But it never occurred to anyone around the table to hand them even a spoonful of rice. The intensity of my emotional reaction to the Kuibyshev situation was chiefly due, I later realised, to the fact that I witnessed this in the 'glorious' Soviet Union, 'home of every toiler,' as the song has it."

Ibid., pp. 244 - 245.

"The system of totalitarian dictatorship as the prevailing form of government is also nothing new in Asiatic lands; on the contrary, it has existed there for many centuries. The Kuomintang was originally a dictatorial revolutionary Party, modelled on the organisation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. So, under Communist rule, there will be no great essential difference in Chinese political organisation. The 'right-wing deviation' of the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai Shek's regime has been 'liquidated' by Mao Tse Tung and his colleagues. The Chinese political system is being brought into line with the Russian, but this will involve no fundamental change in the Asiatic tradition."

"Russian Communism became, after Lenin's death, Stalinism, a totalitarian dictatorship along traditional Asiatic lines."

Ibid., p. 245.

"Hardly any urban male workers, or peasants, in the Soviet Union, received wages that would suffice to keep a wife and family, enabling the woman to lead the life of an ordinary housewife and mother. The wives simply had to work, to help maintain the home. There was almost no exception to this rule."

"except one, the wives of senior officers of the Red Army. They were allowed maids and nurses for their children, and their one obligation to the State appeared to be, to breed. There seemed to be a systematic scheme to encourage an hereditary military class."

Ibid., pp. 256 - 257.

"You could define Communism today in several ways; as, for example, a mirage, a fantastic complex of wishful thinking; an Utopian ideal, a religion, or even an out-of-date philosophical and economic theory. Two phases or facets of Communist aims can still, however, be accurately defined, and should be clearly differentiated. But before discussing them, I want to stress my opinion here, that, at present, there is no such thing as pure Communism anywhere on earth. There is no country on earth in which Communism, as envisaged by its inventors, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, has become a political, economic, or social reality. And I venture to suggest that there never will be, if only for the elementary reason that Marxian Communism is now so largely out-dated by world events since its inventors' own time."

Ibid., pp. 275 - 276.

"Stalinism, however, is a more practical proposition. It is much easier to define Stalinism negatively than positively--by what it denies, sets out not to do, does in fact not do, never will and never can do, rather than by what it claims to be or to achieve. Stalinism is at present (though in my opinion only temporarily) in power over a very large portion of the earth's surface. It will either perish or alter course so much as to be unrecognisable within a relatively few years, for the same reason as its predecessor, Marx-Engels Communism, has already almost disappeared. World events will cause it to become hopelessly out of date."

Ibid., p. 276.

"The two facets of Communist activity, by which I mean political and economic activities based on and coming within the framework of Marx-Engels criteria, are, firstly, revolutionary activity; and secondly, the attempted creation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, after the success of the Revolution. Although Communism does not exist in practice, there are today millions of individuals who call themselves and are called by their opponents as well as their admirers, Communists. Correctly speaking, they are Stalinists, owing no personal allegiance to any individual on earth except Joseph Stalin, nor political affiliation to any political party or organisation that is not within the framework of the attempted iron control of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"Stalinism is a derivation and a perversion of Marx-Engels Communism."

Ibid., p. 276.

"One of the chief characteristics of the professional Communists in the Soviet Union is a peculiar and ugly brand of cynicism. This impressed me forcibly, and in discussion with other returned observers I afterwards found the impression to have been fairly general."

Ibid., p. 279.

"And if, as I believe, Communist psychology is due to a blend of hereditary and environmental factors which condition the minds of Communists, a study of these environmental differences is indispensable to the correct understanding of the working of such minds."

Ibid., p. 291.

"The Russian Communist is a member of his country's ruling caste... In such environmental conditions, the psychological 'Aginer' will be handicapped..."

"But outside Russia, even the paid Party professionals must still, in order to succeed, be, psychologically 'Aginners,' since their entire activities are directed by Moscow towards the destruction of the existing social and political order. If and when power is achieved, their prospects of continued leadership wane. Three obvious examples of the cogency of this view were the secession of Tito in Yugoslavia from Stalinist discipline and the end of the political career of Gomulka, the Polish Communist leader, and of Rajk in Hungary. There will be many others.

"All professional paid Communists have, in common, however, an innate urge or compulsion to acquire power over their fellow human beings. This is the driving force which directs them into politics. . . . The hereditary influences which lead in this direction, the psychological types who surrender to their compulsion, seem not in essence to vary very much from continent to continent, from country to country. But the differences in the environment will condition the personality, according to whether such desired power has been or has not been achieved; whether the aspirant or his party are in office or in opposition.

"In the case of all non-Russian professional Communists, the Stalinist system requires a discipline and a loyalty apart from and above all loyalties to the Party member's fatherland or nation. Insofar as this loyalty is sincerely given, and not cynically, as the sine qua non for holding professional rank, the Communist by trade is motivated by urges that link him, psychologically, to the amateur and the rank-and-file Party member. In non-Communist countries all of them are ranged in opposition to authority; are in peacetime subject to security supervision and suspicion, and, in wartime, are in physical danger of imprisonment or even possibly death. The professional, apart from the innate tendency to masochism he may share with the amateur, welcomes any form of persecution by the authorities in his own country, from a careerist point of view. Imprisonment, especially,

"confers on him the distinction of martyrdom by the class-enemy. This wins him enormous prestige amongst the amateurs and the rank-and-file, as well as a good mark in Moscow."

Ibid., pp. 291, 292.

"The professional Communist is imbued with self-love, self-assertiveness, a conviction of his personal superiority to his fellow-men and fellow-workers, conceit and vanity above the average. He wants not only to destroy the existing environment, but to re-model it in order that it shall become a fitting framework for himself and his activities.

"I have already referred to the cynicism of the Party professionals in the Soviet Union. But this psychological trait is shared by all professional Communists I have met, everywhere, to a greater or a lesser degree. Cynicism is a valuable clue to hidden psychological motivations. It is like humour, like laughter, a defence-mechanism. When, however, the situation is beyond a joke, when the inner conflict is too bitter or too deep to be passed off with a laugh, then the veil of humour hardens into the iron curtain of cynicism. In Russia, the Party professional becomes cynical largely owing to his feelings of insecurity. At any moment the slightest lapse from the Party line, or even a gaffe...can cost him his life or his liberty."

Ibid., p. 293.

"Let us consider for a moment the case of the professional Communist in any European country, who, by dint of terrific striving, self-abnegation, intrigue and suffering, has ceased to be a manual worker if he originally was one, who has become an executive, with an office, a secretary, or even a large staff to command. He is almost certainly also married, with a family to support and educate. He is a man who for years has known the intoxication of his own oratory and the applause it commands;

"He has additionally achieved a flattering degree of notoriety and personal publicity. Now suppose that he finds himself no longer in agreement with the Party line, as dictated by Moscow; thinks it to be erroneous or dishonest. What does he do? Does he throw away the position he has during the best years of his life struggled for and achieved, or will he not cynically prefer to do violence to his private convictions, to what may remain of his spiritual integrity, rather than deviate one iota from what is expected of him by his political bosses in the Kremlin? Even if he had the courage to resist, what would be his future lot? To be outlawed by his former associates, to be branded 'traitor' and 'apostate,' to be shunned like a leper by the comrades and friends of a lifetime, and to be thrown without private financial means on the labour market, to compete with far younger men in a trade he has not practised for many years, and stigmatised by a political police record."

Ibid., p. 294.

"I know of no satisfactory definition of present-day Communism. Leaving aside Communist jargon and propaganda, one finds among non-Communists two current theories. It is, alternatively, a totalitarian political system, or a 'religion.' There is truth in both these definitions. But they overlook the fact that there can be no Communism without Communists, any more than there can be Social Democracy without Social Democrats, or Liberalism without Liberals. Gilbert pointed out in two lines of classic doggerel that politicians are born, not made. Galton supplies a useful basis for further definition in his famous distinction between 'Nature' and 'Nurture.' Communists make Communism; but Nature and Nurture make Communists."

Ibid., pp. 297 - 298.

"A Communist is also a human being; like others of his species, he gravitates towards certain forms of religious or political belief and activity....

"I would define the middle-class Communist convert as an 'Aginner' -- the type of person who, as the result of psychological strains and stresses, endured in childhood or adolescence, rebuts the discipline in which he has been brought up, but is compelled to seek another, still more rigorous, who has an emotional need for direction, who, however eminent intellectually, can find no inner peace, save on the basis of surrendering his individual moral and political judgment to 'democratic centralism.'"

Ibid., p. 298.

"It has been said that the Communist religion, like other religious systems, has its prophets, saints, and martyrs. This analogy omits the all-important point: at the apex of the Communist religious hierarchy there is no God.

"Marx's dictum that religion was the opium of the people, though now largely out of date, tempts one to invent a corollary as regards the middle-class convert: 'Communism is the opium of the so-called rationalist.' A delicious pipe-dream. And that is why your fellow-traveller, your crypto, your Party intellectual, whether he be a dim, unsuccessful hack or a man of distinction in his profession, can be weaned by no argument from his rationalisations or 'convictions'; from the dope that satisfies his basic emotional needs.

"Most British Communist converts seem to have in their psychological make-up an element, a hard core of 'Aginness,' an emotional complex due to, perhaps, some intense frustration experienced in childhood or adolescence. To be an Aginner is by no means necessarily a bad thing in itself. The desire for change, even for violent change, whether in oneself or one's environment, is a basic fact of man's evolution. It may spring

"from a sense of insecurity from a lack of emotional comfort; or it may be a protest against too much coddling and swaddling by over-fond and over-anxious parents. It is a phase normal to rebellious adolescence. But if the adolescent attitude is carried over into adult maturity, along comes, subconsciously, a hard core of hatred against the self and the environment. This hard core is the essence of the Aginner, whose emotionally satisfactory dreams will be centred on the destruction of the existing order and of those members of his own class, which includes of course, his parents, whom he holds responsible for his dissatisfactions. L'enfer, c'est les autres. (The hell, it is the others.)

"This is one reason why the Revolution eats her children, the so-called 'intellectuals,' the Aginners who have dreamed her. For as soon as they have achieved their ideal of destruction of the existing order, and have to begin building up instead of tearing down, they have no inner emotional resources on which to fall back. They must then turn and rend one another in internecine family struggles. Those who win become the tyrants of future history.

"Our native Communist converts have not yet this emotional problem to solve. They can still vicariously insult and destroy their parents. They can indulge in scathing invective against all those who hold views less coloured by emotional compulsion. 'Social-Fascists,' 'class-traitors,' 'Capitalist hirelings,' terms of abuse (like little boys' rude scrawls on walls), they still give a small, shabby, emotional satisfaction to those who hurl them, whilst the skins they are supposed to pierce have grown too tough to be penetrated by them. Childish, you may well say, and childish indeed it is; but the unhappy child is still very much alive in the subconscious of the Communist Aginner, whom he compels to put out his tongue and thumb his nose at the indifferent adults who

"have outgrown such infantile exhibitionist needs."

Ibid., pp. 298 - 300.

"There was no individual psychology in Marx's philosophy, so there is no individual psychology at all. It is merely an invention of bourgeois charlatans. This again, like the rude scrawls, the names-calling, hurts no one but themselves. For if there is no individual psychology, there is no individual either; a reductio ad absurdum which leads to a further complex of guilt-feeling and suffering. The singular has to be merged in the plural; I am not I; you are not you; we are the comrades; they are the masses. The negation of the negation."

Ibid., pp. 300 - 301.

"The more we are together, the merrier (the more secure) we'll be." An interesting example, this, of the transformation of quantity into quality, though not one, perhaps, that occurred to the founders of Marxism, in whose day there was not yet a science of psychological investigation of the individual, including the revolutionary."

Ibid., p. 300.

"I had lied, cheated, acted under false pretences, obeyed and carried out orders from on high--this is called democratic centralism--denied all my inner ethical tenets and spiritual codes for the good of the cause, convincing myself that the end, the glorious and most worthy end, justified the means. I had not even had pleasure from it, enjoyed doing it. I found it distasteful in the extreme, and time and again offensive to my natural bent and good sense, but once having joined the Party I persevered in its service with masochistic devotion.

"Now, suddenly, I woke up. Or rather, my dope-dream had turned into a nightmare, and then I woke up, shattered, exhausted as one is after a nightmare,

"but for the first time able to see, hear, observe, and think as a rational human being. There were, naturally, emotional after-effects. My first reaction was one of the most intense relief I had ever experienced. As I lay on the grubby sheet and the hard thin straw mattress of my cot in the Grand Hotel, Kuibyshev, I kept on repeating to myself, 'I'm free, free, free!' The relief was akin to, but in some ways even stronger than, that felt in casting off a physical burden. So long as I remained in Russia, this state of emotion persisted. I looked... around me, at the pinched, pale faces, the rags of the workers; the strained faces and smart uniforms of the Red Army men; with contempt at the sleek, cynical faces, the well-nourished bodies, the decent clothes, the white collars, of the political bosses; and with hatred at the flourishing, powerful, insolent faces of the real rulers of the country, the uniformed or plain-clothes officers and men of the N.K.V.D., the 'Y.M.C.A. boys' as the foreigners called them. The real rulers of Russia.... None of them, ever more, ever again, were any concern of mine. As the Russian pilots in the little launch chugged away from Archangel down to Bakaritza, where my ship was berthed, carrying me, cold, hungry, huddled in my Russian fur coat in a corner of the cabin like a parcel to be delivered on board, I knew that I would never set foot in the country again.... I shook the snow and the oppression from my boots together."

Ibid., pp. 238 - 239.

"There did remain, however, an emotion, or rather a complex of emotions, to be disentangled later, and action to be taken. I had a deep and strong sense of guilt. I felt a traitor to the cause, especially to those comrades and of them particularly the dead, with whom I had shared my previous loyalties, during the war in Spain. To feel disloyal, especially to the dead, to whom one cannot put one's case, nor explain one's

"impulsions or conclusions, is a peculiarly unpleasant experience. 'The old school tie,' whether it be black striped with pale blue, or bright red, is a symbol of immensely powerful compulsion. To repudiate it is an act, not of faith, but of will, demanding the strongest effort of which one may be capable. It is a kind of death which may or may not be followed by a resurrection."

Ibid., pp. 239 - 240.

"I now recalled one of the favourite sayings of that well-loved editor and mentor of my early days in Fleet Street, R. D. Blumenfeld-- 'God help you, my child; nobody else will.' This had proved, both at the time and subsequently, to be an accurate forecast. But God does not invariably move in mysterious ways; the chief instruments of His will are human beings. Having lost a husband, a party, and most of my worldly goods, I did now find one or two loyal and helpful friends and advisers."

Ibid., p. 271.

"The result of this distortion of common sense is a total lack of sympathy for human suffering, mental or physical. It leads to an arbitrary and vicious distinction between two groups only of the human family---'those who are with us' and 'those who are against us'; it sets worker against worker, husband against wife, child against parents. It puts a party machine over and above all personal loyalties; it leads to opportunist, callous, cynical and cruel distortions of moral values and of facts. It leads to condonation of Gestapo methods and prison camps and forced labour and dark deeds performed in holes and corners, out of the light of wholesome social democratic publicity. It leads to spiritual self-mutilation, so that all the more generous and tender natural impulses of the individual Aginner are ruthlessly self-pruned, lopped off, leaving nothing behind but that hard core of hatred, bitterness, and frustration."

Ibid., p. 301.

"The sadism of the convert towards the Party's opponents is the reverse side of his masochism. In this 'union of opposites' it balances his conscious pride and pleasure in being 'different' and in being victimised for his beliefs. In his youth, perhaps at a public school, older, cruel boys may have persecuted him. So he re-enacts this sequence in his maturity; he is still 'different' and more than ever proud of it. He still loathes, possibly more bitterly than ever, the 'old school tie,' the ancient loyalties, to parents, to King and Country, to the religion and traditions of his childhood. But this time he wears his rue with a difference.

"The difference is that the Communist Party offers his thwarted exhibitionism gratifying opportunities for publicity. The horrid little boys, now grown up, shall no longer ignore or outlaw him; now they will have to take notice of him....

"Meanwhile, his new comrades will comfort him; his other-class allies, whose proletarian style of dress---'Lenin always wore a cap'---manners, verbal tricks, he will often zealously adept, so as not to be different from them, so as to be one, even if a superior and eminent one, of 'the masses'; insulting the workers by a hypocritical pretence that it is something to be proud of, to have been born and lived in a slum, to have been to an elementary school, as if the best housing and the best schooling were not the right of, and desired by, all workers for themselves and their children.

"He is riddled through and through with such little hypocrisies, and is always on the defensive with the rank-and-file of the Party, whilst the hard core of professional leadership is well aware that there is nothing incompatible between Communism and a clean collar and tie.

"To the amateur, the convert, the unfortunate Aginner, the man with a load of mischief on his soul, no other...organisation can offer such soothing syrup, such emotional dope, as the Communist Party..."

Ibid., pp. 301 - 302.

"The analogy between the Communist church and the Christian Church can be pursued a considerable way. The former also has an Old Testament---the works of Marx and Engels; a New Testament, the development of Marx-Engels doctrine by Lenin and Stalin.... It lacks, however, a God. This means that it does not--and indeed it cannot--claim to rest on any divine inspiration or foundation, and has no absolute criteria based on divine rule or order to fall back on. Its criteria are simply those of expediency. Its adherents must be prepared to sacrifice their personal or professional standards of truth and honour in its cause, and they must be willing (whether cynically or ingenuously) to become its tools, whether for good or evil ends.

"Many sincere and devout Christians, and particularly Christian pacifists, have claimed to see in 'Communism' the modern re-statement of primitive Christian ideals and social organisation. This, however, is a profound error of judgment, and a shallow misreading of history. Expediency can never be the basis of any religion, but only of various man-made, spurious, bogus forms of antireligion or pseudo-religion, such as Stalinism or Hitlerism. Christianity and Marxism are irreconcilable, as recent events in Hungary and Czechoslovakia have plainly demonstrated."

Ibid., pp. 306 - 307.

"The greatest sufferers from this monstrous Stalinist crime against the human spirit, against scientific as well as religious and moral integrity, will not be in Russia, since few men remain there who have ever known liberty, either of the mind or the body. The generations born since 1917 will in due course have to discover it for themselves; and one can only pray that the opportunity to do so may one day be vouchsafed to them.

"No, the victims of the Stalinist anti-scientific conspiracy will be the so-called intellectuals in the democracies who have embraced this creed, the Amateurs and Aginners who have allowed their psychological conflicts, their repressed guilt-feelings, their superficial rationalisations, to lead them into this camp, where Hitlerism and Stalinism have blended into an unholy 'union of opposites.' For even if they themselves still fail to realise it, they stand revealed to the world, already, as the tools and instruments of evil, masquerading under a false philosophy and a bogus mystique. In the event of war between East and West, these unfortunate converts may well find themselves compelled, drugged by the opium of Stalinist witch-doctors, and following their political leaders and dictators, to welcome the 'liberating' hordes of Asia on the soil of European culture and civilisation. In that case many of them will no doubt end their lives like Vavilov, in prisons or concentration camps, camps for traitors which the democracies, in sheer self-preservation, will be compelled to institute. Yet even this fate does not seem to me more tragic than the spiritual suicide they will have committed if they persist in error. To err is, after all, human. To admit and repent of error is to range oneself, however humbly and modestly, on the side of the divine.

"And to do this is not so difficult as might at first sight appear. We all make mistakes; some lesser, some greater. We all have a grave responsibility to our fellow-creatures, especially those of us whose more fortunate genes and environment have given us the opportunities to be the leaders and teachers of the less fortunately endowed by nature and nurture. I can speak from intimate personal experience in testifying to the profound relief and release from a sense of guilt--whether deliberate or accidental--one experiences on renouncing the exercise of power over others on behalf of an evil and destructive system. But even this sense of relief is as nothing compared to the far greater joy of re-discovering one's

"moral integrity, one's peace of mind and spirit, of conscience. In my own case, the experience was followed, as I have told, by pressure and persecution; economic, social, and professional. But the sorrow and anxiety these caused me were trivial and temporary. The recovery of spiritual freedom and personal honour, however, were of abiding importance, both for the individual and for the writer. And what I, a Lone Female of no public importance, have been able to do, can be done by others, whose intelligence and whose opportunities for exercising it, are of much greater value to the community and to the abiding culture of mankind."

Ibid., pp. 325 - 327.

ELIZABETH BENTLEY

This person was born in New Milford, Connecticut, on January 1, 1908. Her immediate family are native-born, some members of which trace their ancestry in the United States back to 1620. Miss Bentley was graduated from Vassar College in 1930 with an A. B. degree. During March of 1935 she became a member of the Communist Party, USA. Miss Bentley rejected the Communist movement in December of 1944, although some of her relationships were continued for a time in 1945. During this period, among other Communist activities, she engaged in intelligence work in behalf of Soviet Russia.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED ELIZABETH

BENTLEY IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"As the S. S. Vulcania sailed into New York Harbor that July day in 1934, I leaned on the deck rail and looked at the skyline wistfully. It was good to be back in my own country after a year's study in Italy, I thought, and yet what, really, was I coming back to? I had no home, no family. Nor was there much prospect of finding a teaching position. From all that I had heard abroad, the economic situation in the United States had not greatly improved. True, I still had some money left from my father's estate but that would not last too long. Somehow I must find a way to earn my living. Standing there on the deck, I felt alone and frightened."

Out of Bondage by Elizabeth Bentley,
The Devin-Adair Company, New York,
1951, p. 3.

"Yet I was haunted by the problem of our mal-adjusted economic system. Although I was only in my mid-twenties, I had already seen two depressions, the second worse than the first. Each had left in its wake suffering, starvation, and broken lives. What lay ahead of us now, I wondered. Complete chaos? That was possible but not for long.

"Chaos would undoubtedly be succeeded by a Fascist state. I shivered at the prospect. A year of living under Mussolini's regime had left me with no great love for Fascism. There must be some other way out, I thought, some plan that would insure a just world where men could live and work like human beings. But what? I didn't know."

Ibid., p. 4.

"Russia! Yes, I remembered that Hallie Flanagan, my dramatics teacher in Vassar College, had studied over there not long before and had told us all about the new social experiment that was being carried on. Interested as I was in Russian literature, I had listened fascinatedly. It seemed from her descriptions that at long last that country had emerged from the semibarbarism of the Czarist regime and was building up a new society that might well be envied by many of the more advanced nations. Indeed, her enthusiasm had been so contagious that I had wanted to go over there and see for myself."

Ibid., pp. 14 - 15.

"Communists, so I gathered, were very hard-working people; no one was accepted for membership who was not willing to live up to the rigid obligations he assumed.

"Had I had any previous knowledge of the Communist Party, I would doubtless have been skeptical about its program, instead of accepting it, as I did, at face value. Unfortunately for me, however, my first acquaintance with the Party came during the famous 'united front' period when the Communists had, to all intents and purposes, abandoned their former revolutionary aims and represented themselves as being the leaders of a coalition of all progressive forces to beat back the tide of war and Fascism and to work peacefully toward a new world. I was, of course, not the only one who was taken in by this clever propaganda. A good

"share of the 'liberals,' at least on the Columbia campus, hung around the outskirts of the Communist Party. Many of them became members, as I eventually did. Those who escaped did so not because of their intelligence or good intentions but, ironically enough, because they felt unable to make the sacrifices involved. And even many of these never tore themselves completely free; they remained around the fringes of the movement, helping the Communists in small ways."

Ibid., p. 21.

"I was surprised to learn that many members of the Teachers' College branch of the League belonged to the movement. Hastily I revised my previous ideas. Communists, obviously, were not hungry, ill-clad revolutionaries nor queer bums from the Union Square area. They were intelligent, respectable people, well thought of in the community--they dressed and lived just like any other normal American. Indeed, if anything, they were far better people than the average citizen; where others were out for themselves, they thought about the welfare of their neighbor. They seemed to be continually engaged, at the sacrifice of a considerable amount of time and energy, in humanitarian projects, such as better housing for the poor, more relief for the underprivileged, and higher wages for the workers. It is they, I thought, who are the modern Good Samaritans. It is they who are putting into practice the old Christian ideals that I was brought up on. Why, I said to myself, they're acting just as my mother taught me good Christians should."

Ibid., pp. 21 - 22.

"Actually, I think, I was convinced that Communism was the only solution to the world's ills but I hesitated to take the final plunge."

Ibid., p. 22.

"I do believe in Communism, I said to myself firmly; it's the only salvation for humanity. If I join the Communist Party, I can help to bring about a new social order in America."

Ibid., pp. 23 - 24.

"Here I had finally found the courage to join the Communist Party and there were no application blanks."

Ibid., p. 29.

"'I'll take the name "Elizabeth Sherman,"' I said. 'I am a descendant of Roger Sherman--the man who signed the Declaration of Independence for the state of Connecticut. His sister's name was Elizabeth.'"

Ibid., p. 29.

"As I went down the worn stairs to the street, I felt suddenly very much at peace with the world. Now at last I was where I had always belonged--with the people who were fighting for a decent society. As I walked toward Amsterdam Avenue, I forgot that it was a gray, dismal day and that piles of dirty snow lay in heaps on the pavement. For me it was a beautiful world, full of hope. Mingled with a sense of profound peace was a strange exaltation. Somehow I felt released from all the bonds that had tied me down.

"We will build a new world, I thought to myself, a world in which there will be no suffering, no poverty, no pain!"

Ibid., p. 30.

"For the next month or so I continued to be attached to the Columbia unit, attending its weekly meetings, paying my dues (mine were, as I recall, ten cents a week because I was unemployed), and working in the Teachers' College branch of the American League. Automatically, too, I became a member of the Communist "fraction" (or caucus) in the League, which meant an extra meeting since we always got together once a week to decide what policies should be presented to the organization.

"I finally found a job. I was hired as a case worker for New York City's Emergency Home Relief Bureau."

Ibid., p. 34.

"What especially upset me was that when I reported this" (she refers to a case involving a Negro which Miss Bentley believed had received inadequate attention) "to the supervisor at the Relief office she shrugged her shoulders. There wasn't any use bothering about it, she said cynically. After all he's only a Negro. (It was an area that dealt mainly with Negro relief.) That, sadly enough, seemed to be the general attitude at the Relief Bureau. I wondered how people could feel that way and still call themselves Christians.

"In contrast, I was continually impressed with the humane and practical way in which a Communist dealt with social problems. If a family was dispossessed, he would waste no time in asking foolish questions but would act swiftly.

"First, he would store the family's furniture temporarily in, say, the garage of a friend of his. Next, he would take the hungry group to his house and feed them. After that, he would find them a bed for the night and set about getting them a permanent home. When that had been accomplished, he would persuade the unhappy family to join a Harlem committee to petition the mayor to do something about better housing for the area. To me, that seemed the ideal plan for improving poor conditions; first, extend help to the individual as a person and then, when that was done, work out a long-range plan to solve the problem in general.

"But the impact of what I had seen in Harlem was not the only factor in my increasing belief in Communism. There were many other experiences, some of which stand out vividly in my mind. There was the meeting that I had with an advanced student-- whom I shall call Edwin--at Union Theological Seminary back in the spring of 1935. Harold Patch had introduced me to him because he wanted me to co-sign Edwin's application for membership in the Party. I asked him why he wanted to join, and with eyes aglow he tried to explain his beliefs.

"'The old Christianity is dead, Elizabeth,' he said thoughtfully. 'Christ came to this earth to preach the brotherhood of man, but most people seem to have forgotten. They are too immersed in making money and getting ahead in the world. I've always wanted to be a minister of Christ, but somehow, until I discovered the doctrine of Communism, I was nauseated with the rotten hypocrisy of the average churchgoer, not to mention the attitude of the clergy.' Then he smiled, and I felt that at long last he had found what he was looking for. 'I'm convinced that Communism is the Christianity of the future, that I, as a potential Christian minister, must per se be a Communist, even though it will be a very hard life. Does that startle you?'

"No, it didn't. In fact, it only confirmed what I had been thinking for several months."

Ibid., pp. 40 - 42.

"During the academic year of 1935 - 1936, I continued to function as a member of the Columbia University unit. My Communist duties kept me so busy that I had, luckily, no time to brood about my own misfortunes. I did, indeed, lead a hectic life. Looking back on it now, I wonder just where I found the time and energy to accomplish all I did. To begin with, my 'inner-Party' duties were extremely heavy: I was financial secretary of the unit--which meant that I had to collect all the dues and spend long hours struggling with the Party's complicated bookkeeping system; moreover, such a position carried with it the responsibility of attending a weekly Bureau meeting, in addition to the unit meeting, plus the added duty of trotting up to Finnish Hall every Wednesday evening to hand in the money and attend a section finance meeting. Then, too, in the spring of 1936 I was made agit-prop for the unit--probably because no one else found they had the time; this meant that I had to read all the current Party literature and prepare reports for the unit, in addition to attending the weekly section agit-props' meeting.

"By the summer of 1936 I found that I was more and more becoming a Communist in spirit as well as in name. In the intervening period my convictions had been enormously strengthened. Perhaps it was because all the hectic activity incidental to the Party dulled my senses to the point where I was no longer able to look at the Communist Party objectively. To a certain extent, this was true. When a person lives on the ragged edge of existence, always overworked, always lacking proper sleep, he tends to lose perspective and keeps working automatically, like a squirrel in a cage, without questioning why he is going in circles. He has no time nor energy to sit down and view the problem dispassionately from a safe distance.

"But more important was the influence of the Party's psychological devices, one of the most powerful of which was the educational program. It consisted in so saturating the new member with Party-slanted literature and in so insulating him from any outside sources of information, that he ended by accepting the Communist line as the only correct one. So subtly and naturally was this conditioning carried out that often the convert didn't realize he hadn't done his own thinking. Instead, he was convinced that he had arrived at his own conclusions unaided."

Ibid., pp. 65 - 66.

"In the winter of 1935 - 1936, too, I started going down to the Communist Workers' School, then located on the second floor of 50 East 13th Street--a rickety rabbit warren that housed the Party's national and district headquarters, the Communist newspapers, and the Workers' Bookshop. Here I took courses in Marxian political economy and struggled to learn the philosophical and economic bases of Communist theory. Actually, the whole concept of Marxism-Leninism (the technical name for Communism) is a highly complicated one and I found myself floundering hopelessly in 'dialectical materialism.'

"economic determinism," and the "iron law of wages." I wished desperately that instead of concentrating on languages in college, I had enlarged my philosophic background and taken at least one course in economics. Certainly, I thought, I would understand more of what was going on.

"The school itself impressed me very much, however, despite its unprepossessing appearance. The atmosphere in the classrooms was casual and informal and there was none of the rigidity that I had found in other educational institutions. The teachers, too, were friendly and helpful and they seemed to regard their classes less as a group to be lectured at than as a group to discuss things with. The students themselves seemed alive and eager to learn. Although, undoubtedly, most of them had worked hard all day and were very tired, none of them slumbered in their seats. In fact, they sat alertly on the edge of their chairs, listening intently and firing questions at the lecturer."

Ibid., pp. 67 - 68.

"This combination of educational techniques on the part of the Party was slowly and inexorably having its effect on me. But there were other devices that supplemented it. In joining the Communists I had cut myself off from all but a very few outside friends. I was to find that more and more my social life centered in the Party. This partly resulted from the fact that my fellow comrades and I were thrown together so much in the work we were doing. We were continually having meetings and planning programs. Further, our erratic schedule made it all but impossible to keep outside engagements, since some emergency might arise and we would have to break them, inventing a plausible excuse that wouldn't betray our Communist affiliation. In addition, each Communist unit gave a party either weekly or biweekly in one of the members' homes for the dual purpose of raising money and talking to potential recruits. This more or less canceled out any other social dates. Yet,

"perhaps more than all this, was the feeling that we had a common bond, that because we felt the same way about life we were more at ease in our own company than anywhere else. Even when we had free time and a choice of places to go to, we tended to congregate at each other's homes.

"The psychological effect of this close inner life on a new member was, of course, terrific; he came to feel that his only real friends were in the Party and that the outside world had very little relevance in his scheme of affairs. Yet this clever technique on the part of the Communist Party did not exhaust its store of devices. There was, even more effectively, the strong pressure of its rigid discipline, which slowly but surely tempered the new member into a steeled Communist."

Ibid., pp. 68 - 69.

"Before I joined the Communist Party, I had been a strongly individualistic person: I didn't want anyone to do my thinking for me, nor did I want to lead a 'regimented' life. Perhaps this attitude came down to me from my nonconformist forebears; perhaps it was a wholly natural reaction to an overly stern, old-fashioned New England upbringing. What had changed my point of view was the realization that, in order to improve the conditions of the world and build a new society, it would be necessary to have a strong organization with rules and regulations to which its members would have to adhere. It meant, I knew, that as an individual I would have to sacrifice certain rights and perhaps put up with many inconveniences but, in view of the importance of the goal to be attained, I was sure that it was worthwhile. After all, I decided, this is a step that I am taking voluntarily. No one is forcing me into it.

"The Communist Party's discipline, in fact, was largely successful because it appealed to the responsibility of the individual himself and to his desire for the approval of his fellow comrades.

"I was told that each Communist should indulge in 'Bolshevik self-criticism'--that is, he should be able to view his own actions impersonally and decide whether he had behaved rightly or wrongly, and he should be able to admit his mistakes without rationalizing. Moreover, his fellow comrades also sat in judgment on him. If, in their opinion, he had erred, he was publicly criticized at his unit meeting--an experience that was, to say the least, humiliating. Usually, once was enough to cure a comrade who had been slipshod in his duties or failed to pay his dues on time. After hearing himself denounced as a bad Communist and a disgrace to the movement, he generally reformed in a hurry."

Ibid., pp. 69 - 70.

"I was told, too, that as a Communist I was responsible not only for my own actions but for those of my fellow comrades, since it was important to the movement that the wrong sort of people didn't get into our ranks. That meant if I knew Comrade W didn't pay his dues or attend meetings, if he got drunk frequently in public and set a poor example of what a Communist should be like, I should report that fact to the Bureau so that they could call him in and give him a talking-to. At first I disliked this idea--after all, talebearing is not a pleasant thing. Then I began to accept it as a necessary part of the work of the organization. Undoubtedly, it was important that we Communists give a good account of ourselves to the outside world. If one of us slipped up, he was bringing discredit to the whole Party and it was the duty of the organization to do something about it. Thus I learnt some should suffer for the good of all."

Ibid., p. 70.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED ELIZABETH
BENTLEY AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"My head began to ache from the heat; I walked

"into a nearby drugstore, sat down and tried to sort out my thoughts. What was it that Earl had said? Oh, yes--that he 'had to take orders from the Russians.' But that, of course, was absurd. Yesha had told me that every Communist Party in the world was autonomous and made its own decisions. So Earl, then, was lying to me. But why? Why should he have made such an abrupt about-face and then contrived such a fantastic tale to account for his actions?"

"Slowly I lit a cigarette and considered the matter. There could only be one logical answer. Earl wasn't the great idealist we had believed he was; he was indeed only a low conniving politician who was out for himself. Somehow, for reasons that I didn't know, he must have made a private 'deal' with Bill to his own advantage. Revulsion swept over me. So this was Earl Browder--not the glorious leader of our American Party but a cheap, tawdry figure. He had put up such a wonderful front, hadn't he? He had given the impression of a true revolutionary--a brave, noble soul who would stand unwaveringly for his own principles! I wished bitterly that all the American comrades could see him for what he really was."

Ibid., pp. 243 - 244.

"Automatically I settled myself down for the night, but my mind kept ticking relentlessly on. There wasn't any hope for us American Communists. Not only was the international movement completely rotten but even if we were able to kick the cheap politicians like Earl Browder out of the American Party, we would not have achieved anything. After all, just what was our Party? Not an autonomous movement that had as its aim the bringing of Communism to the United States, but only a poor, puny little adjunct to Moscow. Earl hadn't been lying when he said that he 'had' to take orders from the Russians. Al had made that completely clear."

Ibid., p. 256.

"'Of course,' he said impatiently. 'The Soviet Union is in a bad position in regard to finding undercover agents; unlike the British Empire, which can call on any of its nationals abroad, we don't have many Russians who are sympathetic to the new regime. Of course, we can always buy people--and we do when necessary--but it is better to have people with the right ideology. That's the function of the American Communist Party; it's the reservoir from which we draw most of our agents.'

"This is the end of everything, I said to myself hopelessly, and felt a frightful sense of impotence take hold of me. I and all my good American comrades are caught in an ugly intrigue and there is no way out. What could I do?"

Ibid., p. 257.

"Finally I pulled myself together and tried to think of what to do next. The international Communist movement, I realized, was in the hands of the wrong people. My contacts and I were in a highly dangerous spot. There was only one thing to do: get as many people as I could out of the clutches of the Russians and then ease myself out."

Ibid., p. 258.

"We who had become Communists had done so honestly, but over the long years of indoctrination we had become so warped that we were no longer true even to ourselves. I, somehow, had found my way out of this perverted thinking, but the others were gradually being dragged deeper and deeper into a hell from which there was no possibility of escape."

Ibid., p. 281.

"I became thinner and paler and more tired; yet I could come to no decision. Sometimes I wished desperately that someone would force me to take

"Frantic actions, although I was tearing myself apart, I could not make up my mind. If only the F.B.I. would arrest me, I thought; perhaps then I would be forced to do something. At last one day I pulled myself together. There's only one thing for me to do, I said to myself; I must go out to the country--away from this problem--and get enough rest so that I can think clearly. I packed my bags and set out for Old Lyme, a small Connecticut town on Long Island Sound.

"When I reached my destination, I felt that at last I had found a refuge--a place where, far from my old Communist associations, I could rest and think things out. Quite suddenly the full weight of the past years' fatigue seemed to pile up on me; I wanted only to vegetate and not try to grapple with any problems. At first I did little but eat and sleep and lie on the beach in the sun; even swimming a few strokes seemed to exhaust me. I avoided as much as possible talking to people; I didn't feel up to the effort of making conversation.

"Then, bit by bit, my strength came back; I started to take walks and explore the town. It was, I discovered, very much like my home town New Milford; there were the same old houses with their well-kept lawns and fine old trees, the same white Congregational church with its tall spire, the same small stores. Even the people seemed the same--they are sturdy and independent and solid, I thought. They have an innate sense of the worth of an individual. To them, it would be important what happened to their neighbor; they would feel a loss of self-respect if they let him down in his need. If only the whole country were based on values like these, there would be no fear for the future. In this changing situation, could the old values continue to hold? I didn't know. Once before, as I was growing up, I had faced this same problem; reluctantly I had come to the conclusion that the world I had been born into was crumbling under the impact of a new mechanistic civilization. We had needed a new faith that reaffirmed the

"brotherhood of man and the worth of the individual, I had thought, and in my groping, I found a seeming answer in Communism. Yet that, too, had failed me; far from answering the problem of suffering and injustice, it had only intensified it.

"Sometimes in the evening I would start out by myself and, passing the creek with its nostalgic smell of the sea, I would take the winding road to the top of the hill, where I could look out over the town. Here I would stand and, as I watched the last rays of the sun gleam on the white spire of the church, a strange sense of contentment would seep into me. Somehow, alone up there, I would feel that the past ten years had only been a bad dream; I was a new person in an old-new world."

Ibid., pp. 282 - 284.

"As I descended the hill again, my problem would come back to haunt me in full force. My faith in my old Communist ideals was gone now; even the embers were growing cold. And yet, I thought wistfully, I shall never feel like that again--never again will I be able to think and feel and live with such intensity and passion. Part of me has been left behind in those ten years; I shall never again be a whole person.

"But I can't believe that the world is empty and meaninglessness; as long as there are decent, solid people like these, there must be values that transcend mere expediency. And since there are, I belong in there fighting for them. I must go to the F.B.I., I thought; but how could I find the courage to do it? I'm only one person--just another insignificant individual--and I'm frightened. If only there was someone bigger than I am, someone to give me the strength to do what I have to do!

"I was passing the Congregational church; almost without knowing what I was doing, I

"opened the door and walked in. It was quiet and peaceful inside; I sat down in a back pew, wondering just why I had come in. Then, suddenly, without any volition on my part, I found myself trying to pray--calling out for help to someone whom all these years I had denied. Oh, God, I cried out desperately; help me to find the strength!"

"As if in answer, the old familiar words of the Twenty-third Psalm came throbbing into my mind: 'Yea, though thou walk in the valley of the shadow of death, thou shalt fear no evil; for I am with thee.' I caught my breath and held onto the back of the pew ahead of me; somehow a strange sense of peace came over me. And then, in the empty church, the voice of my conscience seemed to ring out loudly: You have not right here--yet. You know now that the way of life you have followed these last ten years was wrong; you have come back to where you belong. But first you must make amends!"

Ibid., pp. 284 - 285.

"...I am alive and I can speak...for all those whom I left behind--those lost ghosts that have died for an illusion. Telling their story and mine, I will let the decent people of the world know what a monstrous thing Communism is."

Ibid., p. 311.

HEDE MASSING

This person was born on January 6, 1900, in Vienna, Austria. She married the Communist Gerhart Eisler at the age of twenty and pursued, for a time, a career as an actress in Berlin, Germany. Under the influence of Eisler, other associates and general surroundings, Hede Massing was introduced to Communist ideology. In the early thirties she commenced to work somewhat extensively in behalf of Communism, functioning as an "apparatchik" (worker in an intelligence apparatus or network) for Soviet Russia, throughout Europe and also in the United States. In December of 1927 she acquired United States citizenship. It is of some passing interest to observe that her Communist activity is linked with her husband's. She divorced Gerhart Eisler to marry Julian Gumperz, an American citizen, in 1926. At that time Gumperz was also a Communist. She divorced Gumperz to marry Paul Massing in 1936. The Nazis imprisoned Massing, which impelled Hede to redouble her Communist activities as a means of hitting back at the Nazis who had imprisoned Paul. She came to the United States on an intelligence mission for the Soviets, with orders to work among the intellectuals, using her status as the wife of a Nazi internee victim as a persuasive force to recruit or use these intellectuals in behalf of Soviet intelligence objectives. Her husband was later viewed with suspicion by the Soviets and this contributed somewhat to her entertaining doubts relative to the validity of Communism. About 1937, Hede Massing ceased to be an ideologically convinced Communist.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED

HEDE MASSING TOWARD COMMUNISM

"My parents, so occupied with their own problems, never paid much attention to any of my successes or failures in school. I never could discuss anything with mother.... And still I do not remember any intense friendships with girls of my class which would have seemed natural for a lonely child like me.... Mrs. Ehre, a charming, handsome woman of culture with a great love for music, was the first person I told of my unhappy home life; of my father's weakness for gambling and women, and of my mother's helplessness."

This Deception by Hede Massing,
Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New
York, 1951, p. 12.
= 209 =

"My father was quite wrong. I did not think his affairs a joking matter, nor did I understand them as he thought I did. To the contrary, I was deeply ashamed and unhappy about him, his life, and everything connected with him. But at the age of fifteen I had grown far away from my family. I had learned to put up a front, to withdraw, to endure Papa and Mama, until I could get away from home, the sooner the better....

"I had endured weeks of anguish and fear that Manya had seen my father, as had I, on one fateful day when we had been walking home together from school. On our journey home every day we had to go through the Stuverstrasse. This was, as every child in school had been furtively told, one of the red-light districts of Vienna. How frightened and ashamed I was to have seen him talking intimately to a woman who certainly belonged to the street.

"It is unbearable for a child to be subjected to such an experience. Prostitution in Vienna, just as in Paris, is obvious. There are definite streets assigned to it, and the prostitute in Vienna is easily recognizable by the dangling of her house keys from one of her fingers. I do not think that I ever went near that street again as long as I lived at home. I used to go blocks out of my way to avoid it."

Ibid., pp. 16-18.

"Long after I had left home, my sister Eli^t once remarked that I danced like Papa. I stopped dancing for years."

Ibid., p. 20.

"I still become tense when my brother tells me that I walk or smile 'just like Papa.' He is, to me, the personification of flightiness, instability, and insecurity."

Ibid., p. 20.

"... I attended meetings of the small and select groups of the Communist party in Vienna. It was hard for me to understand why Gerhart was so drawn to the proletariat. But I believed in him and in his motives without understanding them. The pattern of my relationship to the Communist Party was formed and, in a way, stabilized during those first few weeks when Gerhart introduced me to the proletarian movement. I was never to understand fully what it was all about, but I was to trust implicitly, and to be drawn to it because I believed its motives to be humanitarian."

Ibid., p. 33.

"These years in Berlin were important in my attitude as a Communist. Although Gerhart did not allow me to join the Party or participate in any activity connected with it, I lived with him, listened to the endless discussions which he had with his sister, Ruth Fischer, with Maslow, Heinz Neumann, and others. And although I didn't understand them, I learned the lingo and the emotions behind those discussions. I read about the Russian Revolution, about Lenin and Vera Figner, who became my idol; and I learned to love the idea of socialism, the idea of a better life for everyone. True, I never faced the reality of everyday work within the movement. I moved only among the upper crust of the Communists. It is also true that they did not take me seriously in any way. But, nevertheless, my thinking and feeling were completely formed during these years."

Ibid., pp. 34-35.

"The legal marriage to Gerhart Eisler was a mere formality and happened because he had been given the job of editor of the Rote Fahne in Berlin and we had to leave the apartment in Gonzagagasse and move to Berlin. It was difficult for a couple to find a place to live there unless they were married.

"It is probable that had this not happened, Gerhart and I would actually never have been married, and I explain this to give an idea of

"the casualness of Communist life. I could have accepted this casualness because I, like so many others then (and unfortunately, today), am confused about the fundamentalisms of life."

"In the short period of indoctrination I had before I left my home to go to the Eislers, Gerhart had spoken to me of how Communists felt about marriage and many other 'bourgeois institutions.' He did not find it hard to convince me that marriage, *per se*, was nothing to crave. Was not the marriage of my parents proof of it? Never, never, did I want a marriage like that!"

Ibid., p. 36.

"We had little to eat and very few clothes. We did not go to the movies or theatres for lack of money, and our apartments were bare and miserable. But we were an elated, gay and happy lot. Those were the times of great social conflicts, the beginning of inflation in Germany, the times of strikes, the times of the start of Communist influence."

"It was easy for this influence to grow during the depression. There was great unemployment in Germany at the time, particularly among the youth. For those, the Communist party had a great appeal and the socialist experiment in Russia had not yet failed. Communist propagandists could point toward it with real conviction."

Ibid., p. 38.

"This certainty of finding influential friends anywhere in the world gives active Communists a wonderful sense of belonging to a great secret order."

Ibid., p. 108.

"For the individual Communist there was only one thing to do! To stay on, go underground if necessary; but be there when the fight began.

"And be there when the fight was finished--
to take over!"

Ibid., p. 111.

"Ever since the revolution in 1917, the Soviet Union has been a center of interest for the whole world. Politicians, scientists, technicians, statesmen, and people of all kinds all over the world have focused their attention upon her. The flood of literature, information, books, pamphlets and papers of all types would be hard to account for. Communist party members don't see or read all this. They get only a special kind of information. They had and still have a gift for doing away with reality; of not wanting, of not needing to know, the facts, the truth. Communists are, usually for personal reasons, tied to the Party, and usually because of deep emotional problems. Since their tie to the Soviet Union is an emotional one, knowledge of facts need not and must not enter their conscience.

"Such was my own tie and my own knowledge as I prepared to enter Moscow. I read, almost exclusively, party literature. All my friends were Communists. I loved the Soviet Union as one loves the country one is born in, providing one is not too complicated or involved a human being. When Lenin died, I was sick with grief. Anyone attacking the Soviet Union was my bitterest enemy. The emissary of the Soviet Union was the messenger from the better world."

Ibid., p. 83.

"The Communist who had doubts said, 'This is not the time to be critical of the Soviet Union, don't you see, we must fight fascism, and who is going to do it but the Communists, with the help of the Russians?' And that was easy to accept."

Ibid., p. 100.

"For the intellectual with a conscience, it is easy to become a 'trusted soldier of the revolution.' Once he is incorporated and a functionary of the quasi-religious brotherhood,

"he lives in what seemed to be an elevated world. The rules are strict. It takes a long time to be detached enough to see whom you are serving. And then it takes more courage to break than it takes to join."

Ibid., p. 335

"Once more I would like to stress something which has been drowned out in the hubbub of espionage talk: the motivations for men such as Hiss, Field, and many more to become what they have--Russian agents. Their motivations were decent and humanitarian. They were approached by conspirators, couriers--as the American newspapers call them--who themselves were moved by a compelling faith. The common basis was the hatred for fascism. The belief was that only the international Communist party understood the real danger and was able to fight successfully. Dead as the German fascist issue is today, if we do not recall the menace it represented and the general appeal to fight it in 1933, we fail to understand the very root of the development that, in its final stage, led men like those to commit espionage for the Soviet Union. The secrecy and silence which reigned within such activities and was an iron rule not only was advantageous but attractive to them. For the Russians, it was not only necessary as a technique but was a method of fogging the real aim. Since infiltration is for the Soviets of paramount importance, many of those agents made no actual contributions to begin with, but were developed only to be 'Nasha,' or 'one of us.' Once a person was 'Nasha,' which meant that he had fully identified himself with the apparatus, he would justify anything, even criminal acts, according to the law which he no longer recognized. It is an intricate process. To describe it, its fiber, the elation derived, the self-denial, and often the self-abasement involved, would take the pen of a great writer."

Ibid., p. 333.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED

HEDE MASSING AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"I learned and relearned continuously, at school through pupils, and at home with the Russian family. Careful and cautious as they were, they could not help but betray the great secret that they had almost nothing to eat, in spite of the fact that both of them worked!" *

Ibid., p. 88.

"It was the great lie! The great lie that dominated everyone's life, that oozed from everything one saw, one did, that was the undertone of every conversation. The lie to which everyone had adapted. The papers, the books, the movies, and the theatres were lying; your co-workers, your friends. The lie, the lie, wherever you went! But once you started to talk straight and clear in your own mind and said to yourself: 'That woman subway worker earns 200 rubles a month and pays 40 rubles for a kilo of butter and 12 rubles for a kilo of apples; between 150 and 200 for a pair of shoes on the black market. How does she do it? What does she get out of life? What does communism hold for her?' Once you have begun thinking like this, there is a little hope. Your eyes have been opened, so to speak, and they get bigger and bigger with amazement when you observe what people will endure. Once you have made this fatal step in observing the life of the Russian individual, you are lost for the Soviet Union."

Ibid., p. 90.

"They stand in line for everything. Nobody objects. Everybody stands in line for everything--and that is equality."

Ibid., p. 90.

*Like other Communists, Hede Massing, on living in the Soviet Union, became disillusioned with all which it represented. The dualism, the great gulf between theory and practice, appalled her.

"How I started to hate the regime once I understood how utterly helpless these people were and how they were taken advantage of! Once I knew there were not enough free hospitals, not enough nurseries, not enough care for the mothers before and after birth, no free vacations and not 'less work' and 'better pay' and 'an easier life'; then I saw clearly that there was nothing, nothing of what I had expected. Absolutely nothing. A great, tremendous lie!"

"Our unemployed in Germany were kings in comparison to the fully employed Russian worker in the Socialist Fatherland!"

"There were no diapers, no cotton, no soap, no lemons, no medicines. There were lots of horrible-tasting cookies and lots of the most terrible perfume at Tesche, the government perfume trust."

"There were no vegetables, no meat, no milk--how they survived on watery cabbage soup has always seemed a miracle to me."

"But there was police terror and child exploitation. There was physical hardship and moral degradation and unnecessary humiliation."

"I did not learn all this immediately. It took a long time. These facts hammered their way into my consciousness, gradually, slowly. I did not want to know. I grabbed, as at a straw, each ever-so-slight a piece of good news. But the good news was scarce. The bad things were everywhere, there was no escaping them."

Ibid., p. 92.

"Mistrust is the most essential feature in the Russian character make-up. For one who shows trust the Russian feels only contempt."

Ibid., p. 116.

"The MVD, during my time the NKVD (and before that the OGPU and earlier yet, and originally, the Cheka), which is the all-powerful Soviet Secret Police, lived the life of the ruling class, at least financially. It has a peculiarity, which as far as I know is not consistent with our conception of a true ruling class. It is in fear, and, therefore, insecure, and this it shares with everyone in Russia. However, its physical life is on the higher plane of an exploiting class. For though the system of private property is abolished, the ruthless and uninhibited exploitation of man is practiced as nowhere else in the world."

Ibid., pp. 260 - 261.

"I never quite understood why I had been fairly successful in influencing people for communism and why I could not do half as well when I tried to influence them against it by telling them the truth."

Ibid., p. 290.

"Ridiculous as it may seem, physical appearance played an all-important part in obstructing the view of the issue. 'How can a man like Hiss--this open-faced, typical American--be a spy?' Most of the men with whom I worked were in their own way as handsome and 'open-faced' as Hiss; some showed a more original personality. All of them were conservatively and well-dressed, and appeared to be middle class. Many of them were intellectuals of high standing in their professions, men of culture and fine families."

Ibid., pp. 333 - 334.

"First, I was struck by the amount of misconceptions, misinformation, and misinterpretations which the Hiss trial showed. The complete lack of knowledge or perception among 'liberals' of what the development and the life of my specific kind of Communist, namely, the member of an apparatus, was or could have been. This lack of knowledge was strikingly evident among otherwise intelligent people."

Ibid., p. 332.

"To have a personal life was something strictly bourgeois. In order to be a good revolutionist, one had to have given up the pleasures of a personal life; one had to have a child whom one could not see for years because of the call of duty; one had to be always on the verge of losing one's husband to some great revolutionary deed."

Ibid., p. 243.

"The breaking away from the movement, whatever function one might hold within it, does not come in a flash. It is a slow, painful process. It is not a decision one makes, but a decision that grows. It grows slowly in the beginning. It is nourished by disillusionment. And then finally come the days when one is sick enough. And still it is like renouncing your religion, your family, your life's work, the taking leave from all your friends--all at once."

Ibid., p. 219.

"The main hindrance to our adjustment in a new life was something we did not even admit to ourselves: fear. The fear that grips everyone who has come too close to the Soviet Union. The fear that is in the heart of every Soviet Russian. It is a fear that clings."

Ibid., p. 289.

"The step to renounce the brotherhood of men that believed they are working for a better life for all, to divorce yourself from the pioneering of mankind, from the fighters for a great cause, is very difficult. To leave the warmth, the safety and friendship that have been given you is a tragedy. You have been imbued with the Communist spirit to such an extent that for a long time you see yourself as a traitor, as do the comrades you have left. How you dislike yourself! You go into loneliness, you hide. Slowly you recover, as from an illness. Once you have recovered, you know that you must expose the Communist conspiracy. You shrink because you do not want to expose the friends you have loved. Each one of the former Communists has gone through this development. You want to warn the friends you have loved

most! Chambers goes to warn Hiss, and I go to warn Field and Duggan. Ignace Reiss warns all the people who had been his responsibility and his friends.

"You have lost your first set of friends when you leave the fold. Then, when your battle of conscience has been fought and won, and you go out into the open, you have lost your second set of friends. Now you are alone."

Ibid., p. 335.

DOROTHY DAY

This person was born in Brooklyn, New York in 1897. Her family subsequently moved to California and later to Chicago. She attended the University of Illinois for two years and then became a newspaper reporter. She joined the Socialist Party and also became identified with, and an active supporter of, the Communist movement for a number of years. During this period she engaged in a common law marriage and from the union there was born one child, a daughter. In 1927 Dorothy Day rejected Communism and embraced Christianity. Her husband remained a Communist, hence, the union between the two was dissolved. She is currently active as a lecturer, authoress, editor and a sponsor of a number of Houses of Hospitality in different states, established to furnish free food and lodging to the needy irrespective of race, color or creed.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED DOROTHY DAY

IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"It seems to me as I look back upon it that I had a childhood that was really a childhood and that I was kept in the status of a child until I was sixteen. We had a very close family life. We knew little about community life, however... We seldom were allowed to have friends in the house because it interfered with father's privacy..."

"For me, this childhood was happy in spite of moods of uncertainty and even of hopelessness and sadness."

From Union Square to Rome by
Dorothy Day, Preservation of The
Faith Press, Silver Spring, Maryland,
1942, pp. 28, 30.

"In the family the name of God was never mentioned. Mother and father never went to church, none of us children had been baptized, and to speak of the soul was to speak immodestly, uncovering what might better remain hidden."

Ibid., p. 20.

"When I was twelve years old an Episcopalian minister, canvassing the neighborhood for his parishioners, came to the house and discovering that my mother had been brought up in that church, persuaded her to send me to the confirmation class that was being started. I had not yet been baptized..."

"I left the Episcopalian church..."

"The pastor of the church where I had been baptized two years before came to struggle for my soul and remained talking to me all one afternoon, but I was obdurate in my refusal to return to church. I was in a 'free' mood and my reading at the time made me skeptical."

Ibid., pp. 31 - 32, 36.

"I must have thought, coming from the agnostic household I did, that religion was a private affair, that some people had faith and others didn't. As a matter of fact, I don't remember thinking much about it at all."

Ibid., p. 36.

"I was sixteen when I graduated from high school and went to the University of Illinois. It was in 1914 and that summer the war had broken out in Europe.... I was going away to school. I was grown up...."

"But after those first glowing weeks of happiness I suffered miserably...."

"Everything was cold and dead to me. I wanted the warmth of my home, I wanted my own, and I felt utterly abandoned. I was so completely homesick that I could neither eat nor sleep, and I paced the brick-paved walks of that small college town with tears streaming down my face, my heart so heavy that it hung like a weight in my breast."

Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

"I really led a very shiftless life, doing for the first time exactly what I wanted to do, attending only those classes I wished to attend, coming and going at whatever hour of the night I pleased. My freedom intoxicated me."

Ibid., p. 44.

"Though I felt the strong, irresistible attraction to good, yet there was also, at times a deliberate choosing of evil. How far I was led to choose it, it is hard to say. How far professors, companions, and reading influenced my way of life does not matter now. The fact remains that there was much of deliberate choice in it."

Ibid., p. 2.

"In my youthful arrogance, in my feeling that I was one of the strong, I felt then for the first time that religion was something that I must ruthlessly cut out of my life.

"So I felt at the time that religion would only impede my work. I wanted to have nothing to do with the religion of those whom I saw all about me. I felt that I must turn from it as from a drug. I felt it indeed to be an opiate of the people, so I hardened my heart."

Ibid., pp. 40-41, 42.

"...I didn't like church. I grew to dislike hymn singing and I didn't like the people who went in for both. I was repelled by them. I disliked them and did not want to be like them. As a matter of fact, I started to swear, quite consciously began to blaspheme in order to shock them. I shocked myself as I did it. I had to practice it in order to become used to it, but I felt that it was a strong gesture I was making to push religion from me. It certainly was a most conscious gesture. Because I was unhappy, I felt harsh. Because I was hurt...I had to turn away from home and faith and all the gentle things of life and seek the hard. In spite of my studies and my work, I had time to read, and the ugliness of life in a world which professed itself to be Christian appalled me."

Ibid., pp. 38-39.

"I was seventeen, and I felt completely alone in the world, divorced from family, from all security, even from God. I felt a sense of reckless arrogance and with this recklessness, I felt a sense of danger and rejoiced in it....

"There was no one to guide my footsteps to the paths of the Spirit, and everything I read turned me away from it. The call to my youth was the call of Kropotkin, and the beauty of his prose, the nobility of his phrasing, appealed to my heart. He wrote in his appeal to youth:

'If you reason instead of repeating what is taught you; if you analyse the law and strip off those cloudy fictions with which it has been draped in order to conceal its real origin, which is the right of the tyrannies handed down to mankind through its long and bloody history; when you have comprehended this, your contempt for the law will be very profound indeed. You will understand that to remain the servant of the written law is to place yourself every day in opposition to the law of conscience, and to make a bargain on the wrong side; and since this struggle cannot go on forever, you will either silence your conscience and become a scoundrel, or you will...work with us for the utter destruction of all this injustice, economic, social and political. But then you will be a Revolutionist.

'Two courses are open to you: You can either tamper forever with your conscience and finish one day by saying, humanity can go to the devil as long as I am enjoying every pleasure to the full and so long as the people are foolish enough to let me do so. Or else you will join the ranks of the revolutionists and work with them for the complete transformation of society. Such is the necessary results of the analysis we have made; such is the logical conclusion at which every intelligent being must arrive, provided he judge impartially the things he sees around him, and disregards the sophism suggested to him by his middle-class education and the interested views of his friends.

'Having once reached this conclusion the question which arises is, What is to be done? The answer is easy.

'Quit the environment in which you are placed and in which it is customary to speak of the workers as a lot of brutes. Be amongst the people, and the question will solve itself.'

"This was Kropotkin, to me at that time a saint in his way."

Ibid., pp. 45-46.

"But there was another question in my mind. Why was so much done in remedying the evil instead of avoiding it in the first place? There were day nurseries for children, for instance, but why didn't fathers get money enough to take care of their families so that the mothers would not have to go out to work? There were hospitals to take care of the sick and infirm, and, of course, doctors were doing much to prevent sickness, but what of occupational diseases, and the diseases which came from not enough food for the mother and children? What of the disabled workers who received no compensation but only charity for the rest of their lives?

"Disabled men, men without arms and legs, blind men, consumptive men, exhausted men with all the manhood drained from them by industrialism; farmers gaunt and harried with debt; mothers weighted down with children at their skirts, in their arms, in their wombs, and the children ailing, rickety, toothless--all this long procession of desperate people called to me."

Ibid., p. 47.

"I was in love with the masses. I do not remember that I was articulate or reasoned about this love, but it warmed my heart and filled it. It was those among the poor and the oppressed who were going to rise up, they were collectively the new Messiah, and they would release the captives."

Ibid., p. 48.

"There was a small group of Socialists in the town of Urbana and I joined the party, but the meetings were dull and I didn't attend very many."

Ibid., p. 50.

"There were the I. W. W.'s throughout the West, Bill Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Arturo Giovannitti, and Carlo Tresca. There were the Haymarket martyrs who had been 'framed' and put to death in Chicago. They were martyrs. They had died for a cause."

Ibid., p. 48.

"Up to that time, I had been imbued to some extent by a Messianic idea of the masses, but at that time I was filled with a morbid pity for those who lived in slums. All that summer I was in a state of depression, as I walked the streets of New York making up my mind what to do, where to live.

"In the first place I felt unbearably lonesome. Not that I wanted to stay at the University, but I missed my companions, my friendship with Bayna Prohme.... There was no one to talk to, no one to take walks with and discuss problems of the world. I had grown away from the family and after my crowded life at the university, New York was a vast wilderness.

"For weeks I was oppressed by the misery of human existence. The people I saw in subways, in crowded eating places, walking the streets, sitting on park benches, or looking for work, all seemed miserable and hopeless. The city was unbearably hot and airless. For days it seemed that I talked to no one. I walked the streets in solitude and my heart wept within me for the ugliness of all I saw. I could not but believe that all whom I met were as miserable as I....

"People lived in the streets; and the foul odor of decaying garbage, the fetid odor from the dark hallways of tenements, sickened me. 'Where youth grows pale and specter thin and dies.' 'Where but to think is to be full of sorrow and leaden-eyed despair.'"

Ibid., p. 61,62.

"It was during the winter of 1916-1917 that I worked on The Call, just before the United States declared war....

"The Call had been emphasizing constantly the work of the Socialists in the legislature, headlining the activities of Shiplakof and the other Socialists who were prominent in politics."

Ibid., p. 71.

"On March 21, 1917, at Madison Square Garden, I lived with the others those first days of revolt in Russia and felt the exultation, the joyous sense of victory of the masses as they sang Ei Uchnjem, the workman's hymn of Russia which seemed to signify, as The Call said the next day, that 'like the flow of the river is the progress of human events,' and they described the song as a 'mystic, gripping melody of struggle, a cry for world peace and human brotherhood.'"

Ibid., p. 73.

"All that winter I enjoyed myself hugely attending labor bazaars and balls given by Socialists, Anarchists, and I. W. W.'s. The most effective speaker I heard was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn who was working with the I. W. W.'s and who was one of the leaders of the strike on the Mesabi iron range."

Ibid., p. 75.

"By the beginning of March that year students at Columbia became very active in the peace movement and I worked with them, and not only in my role as a reporter. We attended meetings, got out leaflets, and had hundreds of stickers printed protesting the outbreak of war that was imminent. At night we walked together up and down Fifth Avenue, in the subways, and in the department store district and put the stickers on windows and sides of houses. I remember the great enjoyment I had in pasting up the front of the Union League Club....

"There was a riot in Baltimore....and standing in the thick of it by one of the police wagons trying to find out whether it was our own or the disrupters who were being arrested, I had two ribs cracked by a policeman's club. I had my newspaper card pinned on my coat, but no credentials were of any account in such a disturbance. The policeman who struck me had blood streaming from his forehead from some missile that was thrown at him and he could scarcely see in the mob that was pressing close around him."

Ibid., pp. 76-77.

"In the fall...I went down to Washington with the League for the Defense of Political Prisoners to picket the White House, which had been besieged by suffragists for some months. A large number of the suffragists had been in jail....

"Two of the leaders were hunger striking, demanding the right to be treated as political prisoners instead of being forced to work, wear prison clothing, and be deprived of books and mail. The rights of political prisoners were recognized by most European countries, even by Russia under the czars. As a matter of fact, most of the revolutionists who spent long terms in jail and had been in exile in Siberia had used the opportunity given them by the government to study Marxism, and history in the light of Marxism, solidifying their influence as intellectual leaders of the masses.

"But in Washington the suffragists were treated as criminals and shared cells with petty thieves and prostitutes....

"We all met at headquarters and started our slow march in front of the gates of the White House....The next day all of us were sentenced to thirty days and taken down to the workhouse at Occoquan."

Ibid., pp. 81-82.

"In spite of the fact that I was with scores of other women I felt a sense of complete solitude lying behind the bars. I felt keenly the misery of all those others in jail for criminal offenses. My own sentence of thirty days seemed interminable and when I thought of long sentences and even six months seemed terribly long, I was overcome by the misery of those about me."

Ibid., p. 86.

"All through those weary first days in jail when I was in solitary confinement, the only thoughts that brought comfort to my soul were those lines in the Psalms that expressed the terror and misery of man suddenly stricken and abandoned. Solitude and hunger and weariness of spirit--these sharpened my perceptions so that I suffered

not only my own sorrow but the sorrows of those about me.... I was no longer a young girl, part of a radical movement seeking justice for those oppressed, I was the oppressed....

"The sorrows of the world encompassed me. I was like one gone down into the pit. Hope had forsaken me."

Ibid., p. 6.

"I felt this despair when I lay there in jail for fifteen days, contemplating the fundamental misery of human existence, a misery which would remain even if social justice were achieved and a state of Utopia prevailed. For you cannot pace the floor of a barred cell, or lie on your back on a hard cot watching a gleam of sunlight travel slowly, oh, so slowly, across the room, without coming to the realization that until the heart and soul of man is changed, there is no hope of happiness for him."

Ibid., p. 156.

"It was about this time that I had my second jail experience....

"I felt at first a peculiar sense of disgust and shame at the position I was in, shame because I had been treated as a criminal and made to feel exactly as though I were guilty of the charge on which I had been arrested. But it was only what I could expect, I thought to myself bitterly, under the present social system, and I thought again of Deb's words: 'While there is a lower class, I am of it, and while there is a criminal element, I am of it, and while there is a soul in prison, I am not free....

"...I encountered a Communist friend in front of the county building. He was horrified to see me being put into the police wagon, and he spent the rest of the day trying to start the machinery to get me out."

Ibid., pp. 98, 102, 106.

"Fear, insecurity, hunger, anger, love,---all these things go to influence the will."

Ibid., p. 167.

"I was part of the Communist movement in this country, inasmuch as I was a reporter, a writer. I was a member of the Socialist Party, later a member of the International Workers of the World, a member of many Communist affiliate organizations, but I was never a 'signed up' member of the Communist Party.

"It is true now as it was true from the beginning that no one was a signed member unless he attended the weekly meetings of his unit and conformed to the discipline of the Party which was and is rigorous. Usually writers (and it is true today of those working on the New Masses, The Daily Worker, and many other communist publications) are not members of the party itself. One could be a member of an affiliate body and not a member of the political party. One could participate in the activities of the League for the Defense of Political Prisoners, the Anti-Imperialist League, for the Trade Union Unity League and many other organizations and still not be signed up as a member of the Party."

Ibid., p. 146.

"Today millions throughout the world consider themselves Communists even though their work, their family duties, prevent them from becoming party members."

Ibid., pp. 146 - 147.

"I have said, sometimes flippantly, that the mass of bourgeois smug Christians who denied Christ in His poor made me turn to Communism, and that it was the Communists and working with them that made me turn to God."

Ibid., p. 10.

"The Marxist slogan, 'Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains,' seemed to me a most stirring battle cry, and it was to me a clarion call that made me feel one with the masses, apart from the bourgeoisie, the smug, and the satisfied."

Ibid., p. 40.

"The romanticism and the hardness of Jack London in his stories of the road appealed to me..."

Ibid., p. 40.

"The Russians appealed to me, too; and I read everything of Dostoyefsky that I could lay my hands on..."

Ibid., p. 40.

"Many Christians have lost sight, to a great extent, of the communal aspect of Christianity, so the collective ideal is the result. They have failed to learn a philosophy of labor, have failed to see Christ in the worker. So in Russia, the worker, instead of Christ, has been exalted. They have the dictatorship of the proletariat maintained by one man, also a dictator. The proletariat as a class has come to be considered the Messiah, the deliverer."

Ibid., pp. 10-11.

"I was only eighteen, so I wavered between my allegiance to Socialism, Syndicalism (the I. W. W.'s), and Anarchism."

Ibid., p. 68.

"First of all, let this be understood, that I was a Communist in sympathy but with reservations scarcely formulated. I accepted Marxism as an economic theory..."

"I did not believe in private property. I wanted to work for a state of society in which each should 'work according to his ability and receive according to his needs.' That is Marx's definition of Communism. I did not believe that greedy and unjust men could be converted. I believed rather in the inevitability of revolution."

"The three fundamentals of Communist belief are: 1. There is no other world than this; our last end is death and the grave, not God. 2. The ideal state is a Communist state in which there is no individual ownership but communal ownership. 3. Since there is no other way of achieving this except by violent means, then we must use those violent means. It is a cause worth dying for."

"Of course this analysis is oversimplified, but it will serve to show how easy it is for idealist young people, brought up without religion, to accept Communism. Paul Claudel says that youth demands the heroic. Someone else wrote once that he who is not a Socialist at the age of twenty has no heart, and he who is a Socialist at the age of thirty has no head."

Ibid., pp. 143-144.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED DOROTHY DAY

AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"A conversion is a lonely experience. We do not know what is going on in the depths of the heart and soul of another."

Ibid., p. 17.

"All my life I have been tormented by God, a character in one of Dostoyefsky's books says. And that is the way it was with me."

Ibid., p. 18.

"I have to go back to the beginning, to my first memories of God. . . .

"It began out in California where the family had moved from New York a year before. We were living in Berkeley in a furnished house, waiting for our furniture to come around the Horn. It was Sunday afternoon in the attic. . . .

"I was sitting behind a table, pretending I was the teacher, reading aloud from a Bible that I had found. Slowly, as I read, a new personality impressed itself on me. I was being introduced to someone and I knew almost immediately that I was discovering God.

"I know that I had just really discovered Him because it excited me tremendously. It was as though life were fuller, richer, more exciting in every way."

Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

"I can remember so many vivid impressions of early childhood....

"But in all the first years I remember nothing about God except that routine chapter and prayer in school which I did not feel. It was that Sunday afternoon up in the dim attic and the rich, deep feeling of having a book, which would be with me through life, that stands out in my mind now.

"I had been reading books for a long time, since I was four, in fact. I can remember books I read, children's stories, and the fascinating Arabian Nights which I read when I was six. But this was the first Bible I had ever seen. It came with the furnished house, and I wanted even then to keep it always."

Ibid., p. 20.

"And I found a glimpse of supernatural beauty in Mrs. Barrett, mother of Kathryn and six other little Barretts, who lived upstairs.

"It was around ten o'clock in the morning that I went up to Kathryn's to call for her to come out and play....

"In the front bedroom Mrs. Barrett was on her knees, saying her prayers. She turned to tell me that Kathryn and the children had all gone to the store and went on with her praying. And I felt a warm burst of love toward Mrs. Barrett that I have never forgotten, a feeling of gratitude and happiness that still warms my heart when I remember her. She had God, and there was beauty and joy in her life.

"All through my life what she was doing remained with me."

Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

"I often felt clearly that I was being deliberately evil in my attitudes, just as I clearly recognized truth when I came across it. And the thrill of joy that again and again stirred my heart when I came across spiritual truth and beauty never abated, never left me as I grew older.

"The sad thing is that one comes across it so seldom. Natural goodness, natural beauty, brings joy and a lifting of the spirit, but it is not enough, it is not the same. The special emotions I am speaking of came only at hearing the word of God. It was as though each time I heard our Lord spoken of, a warm feeling of joy filled me. It was hearing of someone you love and who loves you."

Ibid., p. 27.

"The Imitation of Christ is a book that followed me through my days. Again and again I came across copies of it and the reading of it brought me comfort. I felt in the background of my life a waiting force that would lift me up eventually.

"I later became acquainted with the poem of Francis Thompson, The Hound of Heaven, and was moved by its power. Eugene O'Neill recited it first to me in the back room of a saloon on Sixth Avenue where the Provincetown players and playwrights used to gather after the performances.

'I fled Him, down the nights and down the days;
I fled Him, down the arches of the years;
I fled Him, down the labyrinthine ways
Of my own mind; and in the mist of tears
I hid from Him.'

Ibid., pp. 7-8.

"It is one of those poems that awakens the soul, recalls to it the fact that God is its destiny. The idea of this pursuit fascinated me, the inevitableness of it, the recurrence of it, made me feel that inevitably I would have to pause in the mad rush of living to remember my first beginning and last end....

"...I was again tormented by God."

Ibid., p. 88.

"Here is my attitude towards Communism now, after these many years. First of all, I consider it a heresy, a false doctrine but, as St. Augustine says, there is no false

doctrine that does not contain certain elements of truth. I believe it is the failure of Christians which has brought about this heresy and that we will have to give an account for it."

Ibid., p. 147.

"Kill off the Communist to keep Communism down? I do not believe a heresy will be stopped in this way. Heresies also seem to thrive on persecution."

Ibid., p. 149.

"Communism is a good word, a Christian word originally, but to expect to achieve a state of society in which all is held in common, where the state will 'wither away' through state socialism, maintained through a dictatorship of the proletariat, this is impossible for a reasonable person to believe."

Ibid., p. 150.

"I will not deny that often the Communist more truly loves his brother, the poor and oppressed, than many so-called Christians. But, when in word and deed the Communist incites brother to kill brother, one class to hate and destroy other classes, then I cannot feel that his love is true. He is loving his friend, but not his enemy, who is also his brother. There is no brotherhood of man there, and there can be none without the Fatherhood of God."

Ibid., p. 149.

"Men are being tortured today in Soviet Russia. They are being jailed, their wives and children are being tortured, they are being put to death. Is this brotherly love? No, I grew not to believe in the brotherly love of the Communist. Human nature being what it is, I can only believe that men are capable of much goodness, through Christ who took upon Himself our human nature and exalted it."

Ibid., p. 149.

"But the Communist now exalts the proletariat, the propertyless, and maintains in Russia a dictatorship of the proletariat at the expense of all other classes. And that dictatorship is maintained by the few, ruthlessly by violence."

Ibid., p. 150.

"I still believe that revolution is inevitable, leaving out Divine Providence. But with the help of God...I believe we can overcome revolution by a Christian revolution of our own, without the use of force."

Ibid., p. 145.

"Man lays claim to dignity through the fact that he is the temple of the Holy Spirit and made to the image and likeness of God. Take that from him and he is worse than a brute, because man has the power to think."

Ibid., pp. 149-150.

"The first commandment is that we should love the Lord our God. We can only show our love for God by our love for our fellows. 'If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother he is a liar. For he that loveth not his brother, whom he seeth, how can he love God, whom he seeth not?' (I John 4:20.)"

Ibid., p. 148.

"It was human love that helped me to understand divine love. Human love at its best, unselfish, glowing, illuminating our days, gives us a glimpse of the love of God for man. Love is the best thing we can know in this life, but it must be sustained by an effort of the will. It is not just an emotion, a warm feeling of gratification. It must lie still and quiet, dull and smoldering, for periods. It grows through suffering and patience and compassion. We must suffer for those we love, we must endure their trials and their sufferings, we must even take upon ourselves the penalties due their sins. Thus we learn to understand the love of God for His creatures. Thus we understand the Crucifixion..."

"And I could not breathe or live without that light which I have now--the light of Faith which has been given to me by a merciful God Who is the Light of the world....

"And I beg you to read and to believe me when I say that I believe that neither life nor death, nor things past nor things to come, can separate me from love of God, provided that by using that gift of free will, I direct my choice toward Him."

Ibid., pp. 151, 173.

"After all, the experiences that I have had are more or less universal. Suffering, sadness, repentance, love, we all have known these. They are easiest to bear when one remembers their universality."

Ibid., p. 16.

JOHN DOE

This person represents the average, uneducated laborer; a relatively anonymous figure in the great masses of people. He became a member of the Communist Party, USA, in 1932 and left the Party in 1944. He was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1895, is married, has three children and now lives in a small home which he owns. His education stopped with the ninth grade at which time he was fifteen years of age. Both of his parents were semiskilled laborers proceeding from the same social pattern as John Doe. They were born, lived and died without being known outside their neighborhood and without owning a home or any other private property of importance.

The John Doe as pictured here is a composite drawn from a scrutiny of the lives of a representative cross-section of laboring men who have entered and left the Communist Party, USA, during the past fifteen years. He can represent an average miner, shoe factory employee, mill hand, longshoreman, transport workers, carpenter, electrician, plumber, steelworker, shipbuilder, bricklayer, merchant marine worker, etc. He is inarticulate, a nonintellectual not given to analyzing himself very deeply or to writing articles and books. Therefore, the following statements are being formulated for him, based upon his actual experiences, reactions, feelings, responses, impulses, thoughts, etc., as indicated in case histories: statements designed to reflect as accurately as possible why he accepted Communism and later rejected it.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED

JOHN DOE IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"My parents were laboring people, my father being a miner, and my mother worked from time to time in one of the stores owned by the mining company in the small town in which we lived. They always earned their own living while able to work but in their old age they had to receive some assistance three to four years before they died.

"Both my parents were average American working people, neither radical nor ultraconservative. They were believing Christians and from time to time attended church but never regularly. We children (there were four, three boys and a girl) attended church and Sunday school until middle adolescence. I attended church occasionally in my twenties and some while in the Army during World War I, but have not done so since except for a few special occasions. Religion was never any decisive force or influence in my life.

"In 1925 I was married. By 1931 I had three small children; was unemployed and living in a three-room tenement apartment, near the San Francisco waterfront area. As I was behind in my rent I was forced to move, late in 1931, to a cheaper apartment in the same area. My former landlord, a very wealthy man, brought me into court in an effort to make me pay the rent I owed him. I had a difficult time and received the impression that the law and courts favored the rich man against the poor.

"At the time I knew almost nothing about Communism or Communists. In the new neighborhood to which I moved there was an "Unemployed Council" established. I was asked by some neighbors to join and I did. It seemed the sensible thing to do as the Council offered assistance to the swelling army of the unemployed of which I was one. There was nothing to lose and perhaps something to gain.

"While a member of this Unemployed Council, I became acquainted with my first Communists. What they told me made sense. They said all laborers had the right to employment; that good wages should be paid, enabling a man to properly support a family; that the government should protect the laborer from the exploiting, greedy, wealthy industrialists. This was not much different from what most laborers I knew had long thought. There was no argument on my part. It was a language I understood.

"Although I had belonged to a labor union for some years, it never occurred to me to devote much time or attention to its policies and activities. We elected leaders and I figured they could look after things. My Communist friends explained to me that this was wrong, a most backward attitude to adopt. They pointed out to me my latent talents and abilities and urged me to become active in the local branch of my union with the view of seeking office in time.

"Their arguments that I had the necessary qualities for leadership did not really convince me, but I was pleased they took such an interest in me--no one else ever had--and half reluctantly I commenced to be active in my union activities.

"Much to my surprise I made out better than expected, with the help and guidance from my Communist friends, and some of theirs already in this local union, with whom they made me acquainted. In about a year I sought the office of the Secretary-Treasurer and to my amazement I won. I was very

"Pleased. Unemployed for the most part though I was, it gave me a new lease on life, a new interest and a sense of direction and purpose. It seemed that I was 'getting somewhere' not in dollars and cents but in the esteem of others, in their confidence, and I felt a certain responsibility for their union welfare, experiencing a feeling of importance not known to me before.

"My Communist friends formulated various slogans in the 1931-1933 period such as 'Hoover Declares War On The Working Class'; 'Workers Don't Starve Fight'; 'Starve Or Fight.' Frankly, it did seem to me poor, unemployed and in want as we sometimes were, that President Herbert Hoover, while not perhaps engaged in declaring war on the working class, as the extremist slogans of the Communist had it, did seem to be unable to run the country successfully and to keep us laborers employed. Also, the other choice (e.g., 'Work Or Fight') did not appear to be exactly what the Communists said it was. However, it did seem it was necessary to take some action ourselves or we would continue in our present plight.

"Most of us wanted the soldiers' bonus for the simple reason we needed money badly and needed it soon. The legal and ethical arguments involved were of no concern to me. The Communist slogan 'Only Mass Action Will Win The Bonus' had a reasonable and victorious tone to it. These Communists always seemed to be for something--usually for something we laborers long wanted and needed. Therefore, I threw the full power of my labor union position behind the local Communist programs and activities, and finally succeeded in getting my local union to endorse most all of them. The large majority in the union was non-Communists but the few Communists, with a larger number of Communist sympathizers, filled most of the key positions and generally controlled union policies. The opposition to us was not strong, being apathetic, unorganized, divided and indifferent. They did not have any specific goal toward which to work. We did.

"My local union, to some extent or the other, took part in all the militant events of interest to Communists in the period extending from 1931-1935, including 'hunger' marches, parades, demonstrations, picketing, and strikes. I was selected by the leaders of the Unemployed Council to which I belonged, to travel East in 1932 to take part in the Bonus March in Washington, D. C. At the last moment this

"plan was cancelled because of my being elected as a delegate to the State Convention of my labor union, and because of the increasing importance of my work in local labor ranks. The following year, 1933, I joined the Communist Party, USA.

"I joined the Communist Party, USA because of these reasons: (1) its program for labor coincided with what I had long believed and there did not appear to be anything radical about it, it was to me a common-sense approach to a laborer's problems; (2) through Communists and their interest in me, a new and far more satisfying life had been given me, resulting in my being lifted to a position of leadership in my local trade-union; (3) poor as I was, and as difficult as were those early depression years, from the time I became associated with Communists, and a labor union leader, I seemed to find employment more often and made out a bit better in a material way; and (4) the Communists always seemed to be in favor of something which was good for poor people and laborers, and they were willing to sacrifice themselves to do something about it; for example, they were for "year around" employment, higher wages, lowered living costs, shorter hours, old-age pensions, sick insurance, free medical service, better and more inexpensive housing, etc. We understood this. It all was simple, clear and close to us, and an inseparable part of our daily thoughts, emotions, experiences, needs and aspirations.

"In the period 1935-1940 I threw myself with great vigor into labor-union and Communist Party work. It was the period of the "united front" against fascism. It seemed that all decent thinking and democratic-minded people could have but one goal, the defeat of fascism both here and abroad. All else was secondary. If fascism prevailed in Europe it would eventually prevail here in the United States. If it prevailed here all labor unions would be abolished. Therefore, it became quite a simple matter to link the fight against fascism to local labor union issues; in fact, to most any social issue.

"And this is what the Communist Party did do. It linked all issues, political, economic, social, and educational, from local, to state, to national levels, to the issue of fascism. Infiltration of, and the securing the cooperation of, non-Communist groups was a fairly easy operation as a result of this particular type of an appeal. Because of the effective work I did locally I was made Secretary of the Communist city organization.

"While I had taken a few simple courses in Marxism-Leninism prior to this time at an extension school run by the Party, my knowledge of the subject was very little. In fact, I never did know much about Communist theory, or how national Party policy was made or the reasons for it. We were furnished with written material on the Communist Party Line regularly by the State Headquarters and this was about all we needed to know and repeat. However, on being appointed Secretary, I was urged to 'master' to the best of my ability the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, particularly that portion having to do with tactics. Therefore, I attended more advanced Party schools for a short time and, while I tried hard, I never did understand much about the theory or academic end of it."

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED

JOHN DOE AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"My first real dissatisfaction with the Communist Party came in 1934 when I was ordered to help instigate a strike in an iron foundry where my brother worked. He was active in his local union, although not a Communist as I was, and he was opposed to the strike, declaring it was unjust, unneeded and had nothing to do with the welfare of laborers. I knew my brother spoke the truth but I couldn't admit it to him. The occasion for the strike was the dismissal of a worker who was known by all to be an alcoholic, unfit for the job and who had, because of this, more than once placed the life of a fellow worker in danger. However, through the instigation and counsel of concealed Communists, the issue was created that the man was fired because he was a labor union member; that the company was antiorganized labor, hence, the strike, ostensibly to induce the company to rehire the laborer. The real reason for the strike was to create labor trouble, confusion and unrest in preparation for a general strike; an attempt to multiply and spread the strikes already prevailing with the general strike objective in view. While this objective was never reached, the great San Francisco strike of 1934, in which we Communists were very active, was an impressive demonstration of what could be done in this direction.

"I was essentially a labor union man interested in advancing labor and opposed to pulling strikes for unrelated, political issues, and, with my brother's angry and truthful words still

"ringing in my ears, I said so at a Party meeting one night. At first, there was a long silence, then another Party official arose to heatedly criticize my stand and to accuse me of being politically childish. My resentment was strong and I expressed it. The next week a ranking official of the Communist county organization called on me; ordered me to cease my disruptive arguing in Party meetings and to support without any exception the Party program on strikes. I did, but I resented being so ordered around.

"I did not like to be forced to carry out an action based upon falseness, deceit and stealth and my brother never ceased reminding me that I was doing it; that I, a Communist always shouting about freedom, had far less of it than he, a non-Communist. It galled me to think I was not able to answer him.

"The second occasion for dissatisfaction arose when the Nazi-Russian Pact was signed in 1939. From 1935 to 1939 we had been told that Fascism-Nazism was the great evil; that we all must oppose it. I accepted this at face value. The complete and sudden reversal of the Party line I could not accept at face value. All the standard explanations were given to us to soak up and repeat, but they left me cold. I figured something was wrong somewhere but I didn't know just what it was. However, I was taking an active part in the Communist city organization and like a baseball player in the middle of a hard fought game, I was not going to throw away my glove and walk off the field, because the manager had ordered a few boneheaded plays. Also, I was discovering, that the more you became involved in the Party, the more difficult it was to break away, so I continued on, dismissing as well as I could my increasing doubts about its good labor intentions.

"In 1940 I was assigned by the Party to work among local labor leaders to influence them to oppose our national defense efforts. This was the third source of my dissatisfaction. In the early thirties, when the Party condemned President Hoover, I approved. When it condemned capitalism and later President Roosevelt's New Deal Program, I approved this also as I did an occasional criticism of religion. I felt no real loyalty to presidential administrations, political programs, economic systems, and religion had never been an important influence in my life. Since joining the Communist Party I had had no contact with it. However, active opposition to my country's national defense efforts was much different. I felt uneasy about it, felt disloyal but I continued to drift along and follow out

"Party orders. Exactly why I did this I don't know. I realized I was losing my belief in the labor worthwhileness of Communist Party objectives, but any thought of breaking quickly and renouncing my Party connections I forced out of my mind. It was easier to move with my present associates, and my experiences and ideas of the past nine years than against them.

"When Nazi-Germany invaded Russia in 1941, the Party reversed itself again-- in a matter of hours. This was my fourth source of dissatisfaction. The fact that the Party now was in favor of our national defense efforts (recommending all out efforts to support our 'ally' Soviet Russia) did not blind me to the glaring truth that it was an organized deception serving the interests of Soviet Russia in the United States at all times. It was not primarily interested in promoting the welfare of organized labor and poor people as I once thought. It was primarily interested in using organized labor to gain political power. For the first time I realized fully that what I thought about labor matters did not agree with the Party's position. Also, I began to observe more and more, locally, the various tricks, tactics, and devices of deception and dishonesty used by the Party against both the non-Communist public and even among its own members where necessary. But still I did not break away, although my interest was failing. I was criticized repeatedly for this, and for failing to carry out effectively Party orders. I was demoted in the Party, and lost my labor union position.

"These reversals did not bother me much because I was earning "bigger money" than ever before, business conditions being good. Soon I missed more and more Party meetings, was reprimanded and talked to on three different occasions, as Party officials tried to stimulate my interest in the Party. They failed.

"I was saving considerable money for a laborer for the first time in my life, and looked forward to buying a small home. In 1944 I ceased attending all Party functions and avoided all old Communist associates. I suppose I was dropped from the rolls, although I never officially submitted a resignation. Once in 1945 I was approached by an old Party member I once worked with and asked to renew my interest, but I advised him very clearly that I would have nothing more to do with Communism or the Party; that I considered it all a fraud. In 1945 I bought the small home I had in mind. I am convinced that if more laborers owned their own homes Communism would hold less and less appeal for them.

"It is very clear to me now that I never was a Communist at heart. I don't think many American laborers are. They just does not think that way. It is contrary to the tradition and ways in which we were reared. Some of us laborers were enticed, deceived and swept into the Party during the depression years but very few of the rank-and-file members or minor Communist Party officials ever knew anything in detail about Communist theory, the Communist world conspiracy, conditions in Communist nations, or about what went on in higher Party circles, even here in this country. There was always an atmosphere of secrecy and fear surrounding the Party and one hesitated to probe deeply into it this peculiar atmosphere. In fact, a man like myself rarely thought about doing so. Practical, local, daily affairs concerned us—the immediate tasks set out for us by high Party officials whom we never saw. As a general rule, these 'immediate tasks' kept us very busy. We acted. We did not think.

"It is quite true, of course, that a number of laborers joined the Party when I did and for similar reasons, and are still in the Party. They have risen to important positions and have become hardened organizers, functionaries, and some few, officials. But these, I do believe are the exceptions, representing a small minority. Further, there is a noticeable inclination toward opportunism among them.

"In my opinion Communism appeals to American laborers, in the main, only when they become very dissatisfied, upset, frustrated, thwarted and exposed repeatedly to real or imaginary injustices in one way or the other. It may be in economic, political, or social life wherein we feel we have been most unfairly discriminated against and abused. If the economic and political system breaks down and laborers like myself, with a wife and family to support, are unemployed, lack money for rent and adequate food; if we must give up even little luxuries and comforts, we then become quite restless, discontented and unhappy. We want to blame something or someone for our predicament and naturally it is what surrounds us in the present—the government (local, state or federal), the economic system and the employer. We lose faith in all three. We tend to turn against them actively. We strike out at these three targets in a spirit of protest.

"I do believe that it was such a spirit of protest, inflamed by deceptive Communist Party propaganda, that caused most laborers like myself to accept Communism. We were against what we thought made us suffer, unhappy, unwanted,

"uncomfortable, inferior and insecure, personally and as families, more than we were for Communism.

"If we laborers owned a little property; if we participated and shared a bit more in the business which employs us; if we took a real interest in the civic and religious life of our communities; if we could feel that we actually do possess inherent worth and are secure, and acceptable as first-class citizens by all; if we are treated consistently with respect, dignity, justice, consideration and charity -- then our lives will be lifted above the simple, elemental, economic level of struggle for physical survival, for food, clothing and shelter. Lifted above this level, we will have a sense of purpose and direction in life beyond the material and will be conscious of it. We can, then, within the framework of our laboring status, develop understanding and have time to enjoy something of the spiritual life of a human being. When this does take place, it is my conviction that Communism will have increasingly less appeal to American laborers."

THOMAS MERTON

This person was born on January 31, 1915, in France of a Scotch-English father and an American mother, both being well-educated and widely travelled. Merton became a Communist while at Columbia University, rejecting Communism later on, and still later embracing Christianity. At the age of twenty-six years he entered the Trappist Monastery at Gethsemani, Kentucky, where he is now located. Merton is the author of various books, poems and articles.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED THOMAS MERTON IN THE DIRECTION OF COMMUNISM

"On the last day of January 1915, under the sign of the Water Bearer, in a year of a great war, and down in the shadow of some French mountains on the borders of Spain, I came into the world. Free by nature, in the image of God, I was nevertheless the prisoner of my own violence and my own selfishness, in the image of the world into which I was born....

"My father and mother were captives in that world, knowing they did not belong with it or in it, and yet unable to get away from it. They were in the world and not of it--not because they were saints, but in a different way: because they were artists. The integrity of an artist lifts a man above the level of the world without delivering him from it....

"Neither of my parents suffered from the little spooky prejudices that devour the people who know nothing but automobiles and movies and what's in the ice-box and what's in the papers and which neighbors are getting a divorce."

The Seven Storey Mountain by
Thomas Merton, Harcourt, Brace
and Company, New York, 1948,
p. 3.

"It seems strange that Father and Mother who were concerned almost to the point of scrupulosity about keeping the minds of their sons uncontaminated by error and mediocrity and ugliness and sham, had not bothered to give us any formal religious training...."

Ibid., p. 9.

"Meanwhile, at home, my education was progressing along the lines laid down by some progressive method... The idea was that the smart modern child was to be turned loose amid this apparatus, and allowed to develop spontaneously into a midget university before reaching the age of ten."

Ibid., p. 10.

"...Mother was in the hospital...

"Then one day Father gave me a note to read. I was very surprised. It was for me personally, and it was in my mother's handwriting. I don't think she has ever written to me before--there had never been any occasion for it. Then I understood what was happening, although, as I remember, the language of the letter was confusing to me. Nevertheless, one thing was quite evident. My mother was informing me, by mail, that she was about to die, and would never see me again.

"I took the note out under the maple tree in the back yard and worked over it, until I had made it all out, and had gathered what it really meant. And a tremendous weight of sadness and depression settled on me. It was not the grief of a child, with pangs of sorrow and many tears. It had something of the heavy perplexity and gloom of adult grief, and was therefore all the more of a burden because it was, to that extent, unnatural."

Ibid., pp. 12, 14.

"When we got home to Douglaston, Father went into a room alone, and I followed him and found him weeping, over by the window.

"He must have thought of the days before the war, when he had first met Mother in Paris, when she had been so happy, and gay, and had danced, and had been full of ideas and plans and ambitions for herself and for him and for their children. It had not turned out as they had planned. And now it was all over. And Bonnemaman ('grandparent') was folding away the big heavy locks of red hair that had fallen from the shears when my mother was a girl, folding them away now in tissue paper, in the spare room, and weeping bitterly."

Ibid., p. 15.

"It is almost impossible to make much sense out of the continual rearrangement of our lives and our plans from month to month in my childhood. Yet every new development came to me as a reasonable and worthy change. Sometimes I had to go to school, sometimes I did not. Sometimes Father and I were living together, sometimes I was with strangers and only saw him from time to time. People came into our lives and went out of our lives. We had now one set of friends, now another. Things were always changing. I accepted it all. Why should it ever have occurred to me that nobody else lived like that?"

Ibid., pp. 18 - 19.

"...Father went to London for the exhibition. It was the spring of 1928....

"...I learned that my father was in Ealing, ... and that he was ill... .

"It was several months since I had been in London, and then only in passing, so I had really hardly seen Father at all since he had entered the hospital the autumn before....

"And when I saw him, I knew at once there was no hope of his living much longer....

"I saids 'How are you, Father?'

"He looked at me and put forth his hands, in a confused and unhappy way, and I realized that he could no longer even speak. But at the same time, you could see that he knew us, and knew what was going on, and that his mind was clear, and that he understood everything.

"But the sorrow of his great helplessness suddenly fell upon me like a mountain. I was crushed by it. The tears sprang to my eyes. Nobody said anything more.

"I hid my face in the blanket and cried. And poor Father wept, too. The others stood by. It was excruciatingly sad. We were completely helpless. There was nothing anyone could do.

"When I finally looked up and dried my tears, I noticed that the attendants had put screens all around the bed. I was too miserable to feel ashamed of my un-English demonstration of sorrow and affection. And so we went away.

"What could I make of so much suffering? There was no way for me, or for anyone else in the family, to get anything out of it. It was a raw wound for which there was no adequate relief. You had to take it, like an animal. We were in the condition of most of the world, the condition of men without faith in the presence of war, disease, pain, starvation, suffering, plague, bombardment, death. You just had to take it, like a dumb animal. Try to avoid it, if you could. But you must eventually reach the point where you can't avoid it any more. Take it. Try to stupefy yourself, if you like, so that it won't hurt so much. But you will always have to take some of it. And it will all devour you in the end.

"Indeed, the truth that many people never understand, until it is too late, is that the more you try to avoid suffering, the more you suffer, because smaller and more insignificant things begin to torture you, in proportion to your fear of being hurt. The one who does most to avoid suffering is, in the end, the one who suffers most and his suffering comes to him from things so little and so trivial that one can say that it is no longer objective at all. It is his own existence, his own being, that is at once the subject and the source of his pain, and his very existence and consciousness is his greatest torture."

Ibid., pp. 60, 69, 81, 82-83.

"I sat there in the dark, unhappy room unable to think, unable to move, with all the innumerable elements of my isolation crowding in upon me from every side: without a home, without a family, without a country, without a father, apparently without any friends, without any interior peace or confidence or light or understanding of my own--without God, too, without God, without heaven, without grace, without anything."

Ibid., pp. 71-72.

"The death of my father left me sad and depressed for a couple of months. But that eventually wore away. And when it did, I found myself completely stripped of everything that impeded the movement of my own will to do as it pleased. I imagined that I was free. And it would take me five or six years to discover what a frightful captivity I had got myself into. It was in this year, too, that the hard crust of my dry soul finally squeezed out all the last traces of religion that had ever been in it. There was no room for any God in that empty temple full of dust and rubbish which I was now so jealously to guard against all intruders, in order to devote it to the worship of my own stupid will.

"And so I became the complete twentieth-century man. I now belonged to the world in which I lived. I became a true citizen of my own disgusting century, the century of poison gas and atomic bombs. A man living on the doorsill of the Apocalypse, a man with veins full of poison, living in death. Baudelaire could truly address me, then, reader: Hypocrite lecteur, non semblable, mon frere..."

Ibid., p. 85.

"That as another thing that had happened that summer I began to get the idea that I was a Communist, although I wasn't quite sure what Communism was. There are a lot of people like that. They do no little harm by virtue of their sheer, stupid inertia, lost in between all camps,

"in the no-man's land of their own confusion. They are fair game for anybody. They can be turned into fascists just as quickly as they can be pulled into line with those who are really Reds."

Ibid., p. 92.

"And my bookshelf was full of a wide variety of strange bright-colored novels and pamphlets, all of which were... inflammatory... I might mention that one of the pamphlets was Marx's Communist Manifesto--not because I was seriously exercised about the injustices done to the working class, which were and are very real, but were too serious for my empty-headed vanity--but simply because I thought it fitted in nicely with the decor in which I now moved in all my imaginings.

"For it had become evident to me that I was a great rebel. I fancied that I had suddenly risen above all the errors and stupidities and mistakes of modern society--there are enough of them to rise above, I admit--and that I had taken my place in the ranks of those who held up their heads and squared their shoulders and marched into the future. In the modern world, people are always holding up their heads and marching into the future, although they haven't the slightest idea what they think the 'future' is or could possibly mean. The only future we seem to walk into, in actual fact, is full of bigger and more terrible wars, wars well calculated to knock our upraised heads off those square shoulders."

Ibid., p. 93.

"I remember that in that year, when we stood in the chapel and recited the Apostles' Creed, I used to keep my lips tight shut, with full deliberation and of set purpose, by way of declaring my own creed which was: 'I believe in nothing.' Or at least I thought I believed in nothing. Actually, I had only exchanged a certain faith, faith in God, who is Truth, for a vague uncertain faith in the opinions and authority of men and pamphlets and newspapers--wandering and varying and contradictory opinions which I did not even clearly understand.

"...my soul was simply dead. It was a blank, a nothingness. It was empty, it was a kind of a spiritual vacuum, as far as the supernatural order was concerned."

Ibid., p. 98.

"The worst thing that can happen to anyone in this life is to lose all sense of these realities. The worst thing that had ever happened to me was this consummation of my sins in abominable coldness and indifference, even in the presence of death."

Ibid., p. 99.

"I believed in the beautiful myth about having a good time so long as it does not hurt anybody else. You cannot live for your own pleasure and your own convenience without inevitably hurting and injuring the feelings and the interests of practically everybody you meet. But, as a matter of fact, in the natural order no matter what ideals may be theoretically possible, most people more or less live for themselves and for their own interests and pleasures or for those of their own family or group, and therefore they are constantly interfering with one another's aims, and hurting one another and injuring one another, whether they mean it or not."

Ibid., pp. 103 - 104.

"So far, however, there had been no deep movement of my will, nothing that amounted to a conversion, nothing to shake the iron tyranny of moral corruption that held my whole nature in fetters."

Ibid., p. 111.

"The truth is, I was in the thick of a conversion. It was not the right conversion, but it was a conversion. Perhaps it was a lesser evil. I do not doubt much that it was. But it was not, for all that, much of a good. I was becoming a Communist.

"Stated like that, it sounds pretty much the same as if I saids. 'I was growing a moustache.' As a matter of fact, I was still unable to grow a moustache. Or I did not dare to try. And, I suppose, my Communism was about as mature as my face--as the sour, perplexed English face in the photo on my quota card."

Ibid., p. 131.

"It did not take very much reflection on the year I had spent Cambridge to show me that all my dreams of fantastic pleasures and delights were crazy and absurd, and that everything I had reached out for had turned to ashes in my hands, and that I myself, into the bargain, had turned out to be an extremely unpleasant sort of a person--vain, self-centered, dissolute, weak, irresolute, undisciplined, sensual, obscene and proud. I was a mess. Even the sight of my own face in a mirror was enough to disgust me.

"When I came to ask myself the reasons for all this, the ground was well prepared. My mind was already facing what seemed to be an open door out of my spiritual jail. It was some four years since I had first read the Communist Manifesto, and I had never entirely forgotten about it. One of those Christmas vacations at Strasbourg I had read some books about Soviet Russia, how all the factories were working overtime, and all the ex-moujiks wore great big smiles on their faces, welcoming Russian aviators on their return from Polar flights, bearing the boughs of trees in their hands. Then I often went to Russian movies, which were pretty good from the technical point of view, although probably not so good as I thought they were, in my great anxiety to approve of them.

"Finally, I had in my mind the myth that Soviet Russia was the friend of all the arts, and the only place where true art could find a refuge in a world of bourgeois ugliness. Where I ever got that idea is hard to find out, and how I managed to cling to it for so long is harder still, when you consider all the photographs there were, for everyone to see, showing the Red Square with gigantic pictures of Stalin hanging on the walls of the world's ugliest buildings--not to mention the views of the

"projected monster monument to Lenin, like a huge mountain of soap-sculpture, and the Little Father of Communism standing on top of it, and sticking out one of his hands. Then, when I went to New York in the summer, I found the New Masses lying around the studios of my friends and, as a matter of fact, a lot of people I met were either party members or close to being so.

"So now, when the time came for me to take spiritual stock of myself, it was natural that I should do so by projecting my whole spiritual condition into the sphere of economic history and the class-struggle. In other words, the conclusion I came to was that it was not so much I myself that was to blame for my unhappiness, but the society in which I lived.

"I considered the person that I now was, the person that I had been at Cambridge, and that I had made of myself, and I saw clearly enough that I was the product of my times, my society and my class. I was something that had been spawned by the selfishness and irresponsibility of the materialistic century in which I lived. However, what I did not see was that my own age and class only had an accidental part to play in this. They gave my egoism and pride and my other sins a peculiar character of weak and supercilious flippancy proper to this particular century, but that was only on the surface. Underneath, it was the same old story of greed and lust and self-love, of the three concupiscences bred in the rich, rotted undergrowth of what is technically called 'the world,' in every age, in every class."

Ibid., pp. 132-133.

"It is true that the materialistic society, the so-called culture that has evolved under the tender mercies of capitalism, has produced what seems to be the ultimate limit of this worldliness. And nowhere, except perhaps in the analogous society of pagan Rome, has there ever been such a flowering of cheap and petty disgusting lusts and vanities as in the world of capitalism, where there is no evil that is not fostered and encouraged for the sake of making money. We live in a society whose

"whole policy is to excite every nerve in the human body and keep it at the highest pitch of artificial tension, to strain every human desire to the limit and to create as many new desires and synthetic passions as possible, in order to cater to them with the products of our factories and printing presses and movie studios and all the rest.

"Being the son of an artist, I was born the sworn enemy of everything that could obviously be called 'bourgeois,' and now I only had to dress up that aversion in economic terms and extend it to cover more ground than it had covered before--namely, to include anything that could be classified as semi-fascist, like D. H. Lawrence and many of the artists who thought they were rebels without really being so--and I had my new religion all ready for immediate use.

"It was an easy and handy religion--too easy in fact. It told me that all the evils in the world were the product of capitalism. Therefore, all that had to be done to get rid of the evils of the world was to get rid of capitalism. This would not be very hard, for capitalism contained the seeds of its own decay...An active and enlightened minority--and this minority was understood to be made up of the most intelligent and vital elements of society, was to have the two-fold task of making the oppressed class, the proletariat, conscious of their own power and destiny as future owners of all the means of production, and to 'bore from within' in order to gain control of power by every possible means. Some violence, no doubt, would probably be necessary, but only because of the inevitable reaction of capitalism by the use of fascist methods to keep the proletariat in subjection.

"It was capitalism that was to blame for everything unpleasant, even the violence of the revolution itself. Now, of course, the revolution had already taken the first successful step in Russia. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat was already set up there. It would have to spread through the rest of the world before it could be said that the revolution had really been a success. But once it

"had, once capitalism had been completely overthrown, the semi-state or Dictatorship of the Proletariat, would itself only be a temporary matter. It would be a kind of guardian of the revolution, a tutor of the new classless society, during its minority. But as soon as the citizens of the new, classless world had had all the greed educated out of them by enlightened methods, the last vestiges of the 'state' would wither away, and there would be a new world, a new golden age, in which all property would be held in common, at least all capital goods, all the land, means of production and so on, and nobody would desire to seize them for himself; and so there would be no more poverty, no more wars, no more misery, no more starvation, no more violence. Everybody would be happy. Nobody would be overworked. They would all amicably exchange wives whenever they felt like it, and their offspring would be brought up in big shiny incubators, not by the state because there wouldn't be any state, but by that great, beautiful surd, the lovely, delicious unknown quantity of the new 'Classless Society.'

"I don't think that even I was gullible enough to swallow all the business about the ultimate bliss that would follow the withering away of the state--a legend far more naive and far more oversimplified than the happy hunting ground of the most primitive Indian. But I simply assumed that things would be worked out by the right men at the right time. For the moment, what was needed was to get rid of capitalism.

"The thing that made Communism seem so plausible to me was my own lack of logic which failed to distinguish between the reality of the evils which Communism was trying to overcome and the validity of its diagnosis and the chosen cure."

Ibid, pp. 133 - 135.

"However, as I say, perhaps the hopefulness that suddenly began to swell in my breast as I stood on the deck of this ten-day liner going to New York, via Halifax, was largely subjective and imaginary. The chance association, in my mind, with fresh air and the sea and a healthy feeling and a lot of good resolutions, coinciding with a few superficial notions of Marxism, had made me--like so many others--a Communist in my own fancy, and I would become one of the hundreds of thousands of people living in America who are willing to buy an occasional Communist pamphlet and listen without rancor to a Communist orator, and to express open dislike of those who attack Communism, just because they are aware that there is a lot of injustice and suffering in the world, and somewhere got the idea that the Communists were the ones who were most sincerely trying to do something about it.

"Added to this was my own personal conviction, the result of the uncertain and misdirected striving for moral reform, that I must now devote myself to the good of society, and apply my mind, at least to some extent, to the tremendous problems of my time.

"I don't know how much good there was in this but I think there was some. It was, I suppose, my acknowledgment of my selfishness, and my desire to make reparation for it by developing some kind of social and political consciousness. And at the time, in my first fervor, I felt myself willing to make sacrifices for this end. I wanted to devote myself to the causes of peace and justice in the world. I wanted to do something positive to interrupt and divert the gathering momentum that was dragging the whole world into another war--and I felt there was something I could do, not alone, but as the member of an active and vocal group."

Ibid., pp. 135-136.

"...I entered upon all the complicated preambles to admission to Columbia....

"Soon I was full of all the economic and pseudo-scientific jargon appropriate to a good Columbia man, and was acclimated to the new atmosphere which I found so congenial. That was true. Columbia, compared with Cambridge, was a friendly place....

"There was a legend in New York, fostered by the Hearst papers, that Columbia University was a hotbed of Communists....But the statement that everybody in the university was a Communist was far from true....

"But I can say that there were, at that time, quite a few Communists or Communist sympathizers among the undergraduates, and especially in Columbia College where most of the smartest students were Reds....

"The Communists had control of the college paper and were strong on some of the other publications and on the Student Board. But this campus Communism was more a matter of noise than anything else, at least as far as the rank and file were concerned."

Ibid., pp. 136, 138, 141, 142.

"Soon I was walking up and down in front of the Casa Italiana wearing two placards, front and back, accusing Italy of injustice in the invasion of Ethiopia that had either just begun or was just about to begin. Since the accusation was manifestly true, I felt a certain satisfaction in thus silently proclaiming it as a picket. There were two or three of us. For an hour and a half or two hours we walked up and down the pavement of Amsterdam Avenue, in the grey afternoon, bearing our dire accusations, while the warm sense of justification in our hearts burned high, even in spite of the external boredom....

"I forget how the picketing ended: whether we waited for someone else to come and take over, or whether we just decided we had done enough and took off our signs and went away. But any way I had the feeling that I had done something that was good, if only as a gesture: for it certainly did not seem to have accomplished anything. But at least I had made a kind of public confession of faith. I had said that I was against war--against all war. That I believed wars to be unjust. That I thought they could only ruin and destroy the world... Someone will ask where I managed to get all that out of the placard I was carrying. But as far as I remember, that was the party line that year--at least it was the line that was handed out to the public.

"I can still hear the tired, determined chanting of students at campus demonstrations: 'Books, not Battleships! 'No More WAR!' There was no distinction made. It was war as such that we hated and said we wanted no more of. We wanted books, not battleships, we said. We were all burned up with the thirst for knowledge, for intellectual and spiritual improvement. And here the wicked capitalists were forcing the government to enrich them by buying armaments and building battleships and planes and tanks, when the money ought to be spent on volumes of lovely cultural books for us students. Here we were on the threshold of life, we cried; our hands were reaching out for education and culture. Was the government going to put a gun in them, and send us off on another imperialistic war? And the line of reasoning behind all this definitely held, in 1935, that all war was imperialistic war. War, according to the party line in 1935, was an exclusively capitalist amusement. It was purely and simply a device to enrich the armament manufacturers and the international bankers, coining fortunes for them with the blood of the workers and students.

"One of the big political events of that spring was a 'Peace Strike.' I was never quite able to understand by virtue of what principle a student could manage to consider himself on strike by cutting a class. Theoretically, I suppose, it amounted to a kind of defiance of authority; but it was a defiance that did not cost anybody anything except perhaps the student himself. And besides, I was quite used to cutting classes whenever I felt like it, and it seemed to me rather bombastic to dress it up with the name of 'strike.' However, on another of those grey days, we went on 'strike,' and this time there were several hundred people in the gymnasium, and even one or two members of the faculty got up on the platform and said something.

"They were not all Communists, but all the speeches had more or less the same burden: that it was absurd to even think of such a thing as a just war in our time. Nobody wanted war; there was no justification for any war of any kind on the part of anybody, and consequently, if a war did start, it would certainly be the result of a capitalist plot, and should be firmly resisted by everybody with any kind of a conscience.

"That was just the kind of a position that attracted me, that appealed to my mind at that time. It seemed to cut across all complexities by its sweeping and uncompromising simplicity. All war was simply unjust, and that was that. The thing to do was to fold your arms and refuse to fight. If everybody did that, there would be no more wars.

"That cannot seriously have been the Communist position, but at least I thought it was. And anyway the theme of this particular meeting was the 'Oxford Pledge.' The words of that pledge were written out in huge letters on a great big placard that hung limply in the air over the speakers' platform, and all the speakers waved their arms at it and praised it, and repeated it, and urged it upon us, and in the end we all took it, and acclaimed it, and solemnly pledged ourselves to it.

"Perhaps everybody has, by now, forgotten what the Oxford Pledge was. It was a resolution that had been passed by the Oxford Union, which said that they, these particular Oxford undergraduates, simply would refuse to fight for King and Country in any war whatever.

The fact that a majority of those who happened to be at a meeting of a university debating society, one evening, voted that way certainly did not commit the whole university, or even any one of the voters, to what the resolution said and it was only other student groups, all over the world, that had transformed it into a 'pledge.' And this 'pledge' was then taken by hundreds of thousands of students in all kinds of schools and colleges and universities with some of the solemnity that might make it look as if they intended to bind themselves by it--the way we were doing at Columbia that day.

All this was usually inspired by the Reds, who were very fond of the Oxford Pledge that year....

"However, the next year the Spanish Civil war broke out. The first thing I heard about that war was that one of the chief speakers at the 1935 Peace Strike, and one who had been so enthusiastic about the glorious pledge that we would never fight in any war, was now fighting for the Red Army against Franco, and all the N.S.L. and the Young Communists were going around picketing everybody who seemed to think that the war in Spain was not holy and sacrosanct and a crusade for the workers against Fascism.

"The thing that perplexes me is: what did all the people in the gymnasium at Columbia, including myself, think we were doing when we took that pledge? What did a pledge mean to us? What was, in our minds, the basis of such an obligation?...

"As far as I can remember, it seems that what most of us thought we were doing, when we took that pledge, was simply making a public statement, and doing so in sufficient numbers, as we hoped, to influence politicians. There was no intention of binding ourselves under any obligation. The notion never even occurred to us. Most of us probably secretly thought we were gods anyway, and therefore

"the only law we had to obey was our own ineffable little wills. It was sufficient to say that we did not intend to go to war for anybody: and that was enough. And if, afterwards, we changed our minds--well, were we not our own gods?"

Ibid., pp. 142, 143, 144, 145.

"Finally, the Reds had a party. And, of all places, in a Park Avenue apartment. This irony was the only amusing thing about it. And after all it was not so ironical. It was the home of some Barnard girl who belonged to the Young Communist League and her parents had gone away for the week-end....

"One little fellow with buck teeth and horn-rimmed glasses pointed to two windows in a corner of one of the rooms. They commanded a whole sweep of Park Avenue in one direction and the cross-town street in another. 'What a place for a machine-gun nest,' he observed. The statement came from a middle-class adolescent. It was made in a Park Avenue apartment. He had evidently never even seen a machine-gun except in the movies. If there had been a revolution going on at the time, he would have probably been among the first to get his head knocked off by the revolutionists. And in any case he, like all the rest of us, had just finished making the famous Oxford Pledge that he would not fight in any war whatever....

"One reason why I found the party so dull was that nobody was very enthusiastic about getting something to drink except me. Finally, one of the girls encouraged me, in a businesslike sort of a way, to go out and buy bottles of rye at a liquor store around the corner on Third Avenue, and when I had drunk some of the contents she invited me into a room and signed me up as a member of the Young Communist League. I took the party name of Frank Swift. When I looked up from the paper the girl had vanished like a not too inspiring dream, and I went home on the Long Island Railroad with the secret of a name which I have been too ashamed to reveal to anyone until this moment when I am beyond humiliation."

Ibid., pp. 147-148.

"...in Harlem the Communists were strong. They were bound to be strong. They were doing some of the things, performing some of the works of mercy that Christians should be expected to do. If some Negro workers lose their jobs, and are in danger of starving, the Communists are there to divide their own food with them, and to take up the defence of their case.

"If some Negro is dying, and is refused admission to a hospital, the Communists show up, and get someone to take care of him, and furthermore see to it that the injustice is publicized all over the city. If a Negro family is evicted, because they can't pay the rent, the Communists are there, and find shelter for them, even if they have to divide their own bedding with them. And every time they do these things, more and more people begin to say 'See, the Communists really love the poor! They are really trying to do something for us! What they say must be right: there is no one else who cares anything about our interests: there is nothing better for us to do than to get in with them, and work with them for this revolution they are talking about....'

"...we preferred our own comfort: we averted our eyes from such a spectacle, because it made us feel uneasy: the thought of so much dirt nauseated us-- and we never stopped to think that we, perhaps, might be partly responsible for it. And so people continued to die of starvation and disease in those evil tenements full of vice and cruelty, while those who did condescend to consider their problems, held

"banquets in the big hotels downtown to discuss the 'Race situation' in a big rosy cloud of hot air."

Ibid., p. 341.

"The embarrassment of those young Negroes was something that gave me a picture of Harlem: the details of the picture were to be filled in later, but the essentials were already there.

"Here in this huge, dark, steaming slum, hundreds of thousands of Negroes are herded together like cattle, most of them with nothing to eat and nothing to do. All the senses and imagination and sensibilities and emotions and sorrows and desires and hopes and ideas of a race with vivid feelings and deep emotional reactions are forced in upon themselves, bound inward by an iron ring of frustration: the prejudice that hems them in with its four unsurmountable walls. In this Hugh cauldron, inestimable cultural gifts, wisdom, love, music, science, poetry are stamped down and left to boil with the dregs of an elementally corrupted nature, and thousands upon thousands of souls are destroyed by vice and misery and degradation, obliterated, wiped out, washed from the register of the living, dehumanized.

"What has not been devoured, in your dark furnace, Harlem, by marihuana, by gin, by insanity, hysteria, syphilis?

"Those who manage somehow to swim to the top of this seething cauldron, and remain on its surface, through some special spiritual quality or other, or because they have been able to get away from Harlem, and go to some college or school, these are not all at once annihilated: but they are left with the dubious privilege of living out the only thing Harlem possesses in the way of an ideal. They are left with the sorry task of contemplating and imitating what passes for culture in the world of the white people.

"Now the terrifying paradox of the whole thing is this: Harlem itself, and every individual Negro in it, is a living condemnation of our so-called 'culture'... The brothels of Harlem, and all its

"prostitution, and its dope-rings, and all the rest are the mirror of the polite divorcés and the manifold cultured adulteries of Park Avenue; they are God's commentary on the whole of our society.

"Harlem is, in a sense, what God thinks of Hollywood. And Hollywood is all Harlem has, in its despair, to grasp at, by way of a surrogate for heaven.

"The most terrible thing about it all is that there is not a Negro in the whole place who does not realize, somewhere in the depths of his nature, that the culture of the white men is not worth the dirt in Harlem's gutters. They sense that the whole thing is rotten, that it is a fake, that it is spurious, empty, a shadow of nothingness. And yet they are condemned to reach out for it, and to seem to desire it, and to pretend they like it, as if the whole thing were some kind of bitter cosmic conspiracy; as if they were thus being forced to work out, in their own lives, a clear representation of the misery which has corrupted the ontological roots of the white man's own existence.

"The little children of Harlem are growing up, crowded together like sardines in the rooms of tenements full of vice, where evil takes place hourly and inescapably before their eyes, so that there is not an excess of passion, not a perversion of natural appetite with which they are not familiar before the age of six or seven: and this by way of an accusation of the polite and expensive and furtive sensualities and lusts of the rich whose sins have bred this abominable slum. The effect resembles and even magnifies the cause, and Harlem is the portrait of those through whose fault such things come into existence. What was heard in secret in the bedrooms and apartments of the rich and of the cultured and the educated and the white is preached from the housetops of Harlem and there declared, for what it is, in all its horror, somewhat as it is seen in the eyes of God, naked and frightful.

"No, there is not a Negro in the whole place who can fail to know, in the marrow of his own bones, that the white man's culture is not worth the jetsam in the Harlem River."

"That night I came back to Harlem... and we saw a play that was put on by the little Negro children in the recreation room of the group called the 'Cubs.'

"It was an experience that nearly tore me to pieces. All the parents of the children were there, sitting on benches, literally choked with emotion at the fact that their children should be acting in a play: but that was not the thing. For, as I say, they knew that the play was nothing, and that all the plays of the white people are more or less nothing. They were not taken in by that. Underneath it was something deep and wonderful and positive and true and overwhelming: their gratitude for even so small a sign of love as this, that someone should at least make some kind of a gesture that said: 'This sort of thing cannot make anybody happy, but it is a way of saying: I wish you were happy.'

Ibid., pp. 345-346.

"My active part in the world revolution was not very momentous. It lasted, in all, about three months. I picketed the Casa Italiana, I went to the Peace Strike, and I think I made some kind of a speech in the big classroom on the second floor of the Business School, where the N.S.L. had their meetings. Maybe it was a speech on Communism in England--a topic about which I knew absolutely nothing; in that case, I was loyally living up to the tradition of Red oratory. I sold some pamphlets and magazines. I don't know what was in them, but I could gather their contents from the big black cartoons of capitalists drinking the blood of workers."

Ibid., p. 147.

FORCES, EVENTS AND IDEAS WHICH TURNED THOMAS

MERTON AWAY FROM COMMUNISM

"The logic of worldly success rests on a fallacy: the strange error that our perfection depends on the thoughts and opinions and applause of other men! A weird life it is, indeed, to be living always in somebody else's imagination, as if that were the only place in which one could at last become real!"

Ibid., p. 330.

"I think that if there is one truth that people need to learn, in the world, especially today, it is this: the intellect is only theoretically independent of desire and appetite in ordinary, actual practice. It is constantly being blinded and perverted by the ends and aims of passion, and the evidence it presents to us with such a show of impartiality and objectivity is fraught with interest and propaganda. We have become marvelous at self-delusion; all the more so, because we have gone to such trouble to convince ourselves of our own absolute infallibility. The desires of the flesh-- and by that I mean not only sinful desires, but even the ordinary, normal appetites for comfort and ease and human respect, are fruitful sources of every kind of error and misjudgement, and because we have these yearnings in us, our intellects (which, if they operated all alone in a vacuum, would indeed register with pure impartiality what they saw) present to us everything distorted and accommodated to the norms of our desire.

"And therefore, even when we are acting with the best of intentions, and imagine that we are doing great good, we may be actually doing tremendous material harm and contradicting all our good intentions."

Ibid., pp. 205, 206.

"I had formed a kind of an ideal picture of Communism in my mind, and now I found that the reality was a disappointment. I suppose my daydreams were theirs also. But neither dream is true."

"I had thought that Communists were calm, strong, definite people, with very clear ideas as to what was wrong with everything. Men who knew the solution, and were ready to pay any price to apply the remedy. And their remedy was simple and just and clean, and it would definitely solve all the problems of society, and make men happy, and bring the world peace."

"It turned out that some of them indeed were calm, and strong, and had a kind of peace of mind that came from definite convictions and from a real devotion to their cause, out of motives of a kind of vague natural charity and sense of justice. But the trouble with their convictions was that they were mostly strange, stubborn prejudices, hammered into their minds by the incantation of statistics, and without any solid intellectual foundation. And having decided that God is an invention of the ruling classes, and having excluded Him, and all moral order with Him, they were trying to establish some kind of a moral system by abolishing all morality in its very source. Indeed, the very word morality was something repugnant to them. They wanted to make everything right, and they denied all the criteria given us for distinguishing between right and wrong."

"And so it is an indication of the intellectual instability of Communism, and the weakness of its philosophical foundations, that most Communists are, in actual fact, noisy and shallow and violent people, torn to pieces by petty jealousies and factional hatreds and envies and strife. They shout and show off and generally give the impression that they cordially detest one another even when they are supposed to belong to the same sect. And as for the inter-sectional hatred prevailing between all the different branches of radicalism, it is far bitterer and more virulent than the more or less sweeping and abstract hatred of the big general enemy, capitalism. All this is something of a clue to such things as the wholesale executions of Communists who have moved their chairs to too prominent a position in the ante-chamber of Utopia which the Soviet Union is supposed to be."

Ibid., pp. 146-147.

"It's a nice, complex universe; the Communist universe: it gravitates towards stability and harmony and peace and order on the poles of an opportunism that is completely irresponsible and erratic. Its only law is, it will do whatever seems to be profitable to itself at the moment."

Ibid., pp. 145-146.

"Human nature has a way of making very specious arguments to suit its own cowardice and lack of generosity."

Ibid., p. 331.

"For there can be no doubt that modern society is in a terrible condition, and that its wars and depressions and its slums and all its other evils are principally the fruits of an unjust social system, a system that must be reformed and purified or else replaced. However, if you are wrong, does that make me right? If you are bad, does that prove that I am good? The chief weakness of Communism is that it is, itself, only another breed of the same materialism which is the source and root of all the evils which it so clearly sees.... Indeed, it seems to be pieced together out of the ruins of the same ideology that once went into the vast, amorphous, intellectual structure underlying capitalism in the nineteenth century.

"I don't know how anybody who pretends to know anything about history can be so naive as to suppose that after all these centuries of corrupt and imperfect social systems, there is eventually to evolve...the unchanging and stable and eternal out of the variable and mutable, the just out of the unjust. But perhaps revolution is a contradiction of evolution, and therefore means the replacement of the unjust by the just, of the evil by the good. And yet it is still just as naive to suppose that members of the same human species, without having changed anything but their minds, should suddenly turn around and produce a perfect society, when they have never been able, in the past, to produce anything but imperfection and, at best, the barest shadow of justice."

Ibid., p. 135.

"People who are immersed in sensual appetites and desires are not very well prepared to handle abstract ideas. Even in the purely natural order, a certain amount of purity of heart is required before an intellect can get sufficiently detached and clear to work out the problems of metaphysics."

Ibid., p. 94.

"Is it any wonder that there can be no peace in a world where everything possible is done to guarantee that the youth of every nation will grow up absolutely without moral and religious discipline, and without the shadow of an interior life, or of that spirituality and charity and faith which alone can safeguard the treaties and agreements made by governments?"

Ibid., p. 51.

"Since evil is the defect of good, the lack of a good that ought to be there, and nothing positive in itself, it follows that the greatest evil is found where the highest good has been corrupted."

Ibid., p. 51.

"And in a sense, this terrible situation is the pattern and prototype of all sins: the deliberate and formal will to reject disinterested love for us for the purely arbitrary reason that we simply do not want it. We will to separate ourselves from that love. We reject it entirely and absolutely, and will not acknowledge it, simply because it does not please us to be loved. Perhaps the inner motive is that the fact of being loved disinterestedly reminds us that we all need love from others, and depend upon the charity of others to carry on our lives. And we refuse love, and reject society, in so far as it seems, in our own perverse imagination, to imply some obscure kind of humiliation."

Ibid., pp. 23-24.

"In so far as men are prepared to prefer their own will to God's will, they can be said to hate God: for of course they cannot hate Him in Himself. But they hate Him in the Commandments which they violate."

Ibid., p. 230.

"It is only the infinite mercy and love of God that has prevented us from tearing ourselves to pieces and destroying His entire creation long ago. People seem to think that it is in some way a proof that no merciful God exists, if we have so many wars. On the contrary, consider how in spite of centuries of sin and greed and lust and cruelty and hatred and avarice and oppression and injustice, spawned and bred by the free wills of men, the human race can still recover, each time, and can still produce men and women who overcome evil with good, hatred with love, greed with charity, lust and cruelty with sanctity. How could all this be possible without the merciful love of God, pouring out His grace upon us? Can there be any doubt where wars come from and where peace comes from, when the children of this world, excluding God from their peace conferences, only manage to bring about greater and greater wars the more they talk about peace?"

"We have only to open our eyes and look about us to see what our sins are doing to the world, and have done. But we cannot see. We are the ones to whom it is said by the prophets of God: 'Hearing hear, and understand not; and see the vision, and know it not.'"

Ibid., pp. 128, 129.

"There is a paradox that lies in the very heart of human existence. It must be apprehended before any lasting happiness is possible in the soul of a man. The paradox is this: man's nature, by itself, can do little or nothing to settle his most important problems."

Ibid., p. 169.

"...God gave man a nature that was ordered to a supernatural life. He created man with a soul that was made not to bring itself to perfection in its own order,

"but to be perfected by Him in an order infinitely beyond the reach of human powers. We were never destined to lead purely natural lives, and therefore we were never destined in God's plan for a purely natural beatitude. Our nature, which is a free gift of God, was given to us to be perfected and enhanced by another free gift that is not due it.

"This free gift is 'sanctifying grace.' It perfects our nature with the gift of a life, an intellect, a love, a mode of existence infinitely above its own level....

"What is 'grace'? It is God's own life, shared by us. God's life is Love. Deus caritas est. By grace we are able to share in the infinitely selfless love of Him Who is such pure actuality that He needs nothing and therefore cannot conceivably exploit anything for selfish ends. Indeed, outside of Him there is nothing, and whatever exists exists by His free gift of its being so that one of the notions that is absolutely contradictory to the perfection of God is selfishness. It is metaphysically impossible for God to be selfish, because the existence of everything that is depends upon His gift, depends upon His unselfishness.

"When a ray of light strikes a crystal, it gives a new quality to the crystal. And when God's infinitely disinterested love plays upon a human soul, the same kind of thing takes place. And that is the life called sanctifying grace.

"The soul of man, left to its own natural level, is a potentially lucid crystal left in darkness. It is perfect in its own nature, but it lacks something that it can only receive from outside and above itself. But when the light shines in it, it becomes in a manner transformed into light and seems to lose its nature in the splendor of a higher nature, the nature of the light that is in it.

"So the natural goodness of man, his capacity for love which must always be in some sense selfish if

"it remains in the natural order, becomes transfigured and transformed when the Love of God shines in it. What happens when a man loses himself completely in the Divine Life within him? This perfection is only for those who are called the saints--for those rather who are the saints and who live in the light of God alone. For the ones who are called saints by human opinion on earth may very well be devils, and their light may very well be darkness...People who look like saints to us are very often not so, and those who do not look like saints very often are. And the greatest saints are sometimes the most obscure..."

Ibid., pp. 169-170.

"So now is the time to tell a thing that I could not realize then, but which has become very clear to me: that God brought me and a half a dozen others together at Columbia, and made us friends, in such a way that our friendship would work powerfully to rescue us from the confusion and the misery in which we had come to find ourselves, partly through our own fault, and partly through a complex set of circumstances which might be grouped together under the heading of the 'modern world,' 'modern society.' But the qualification 'modern' is unnecessary and perhaps unfair. The traditional Gospel term, 'the world,' will do well enough.

"All our salvation begins on the level of common and natural and ordinary things...And so it was with me. Books and ideas and poems and stories, pictures and music, buildings, cities, places, philosophies were to be the materials on which grace would work. But these things are themselves not enough...

"The coming war, and all the uncertainties and confusions and fears that followed necessarily from that, and all the rest of the violence and injustice that were in the world, had a very important part to play. All these things were bound together and fused and vitalized and prepared for the action of grace, both in my own soul and in the souls of at least one or two of my friends, merely by our friendship

"and association together. And it fermented in our sharing of our own ideas and miseries and headaches and perplexities and fears and difficulties and desires and hangovers and all the rest."

Ibid., p. 178.

"All that year we were, in fact, talking about the deepest springs of human desire and hope and fear; we were considering all the most important realities..."

Ibid., p. 180.

"...I was to become conscious of the fact that the only way to live was to live in a world that was charged with the presence and reality of God....

"The life of the soul is not knowledge, it is love, since love is the act of the supreme faculty, the will, by which man is formally united to the final end of all his strivings--by which man becomes one with God."

Ibid., p. 191.

"And since God is a Spirit, and infinitely above all matter and all creation, the only complete union possible, between ourselves and Him, is in the order of intention: a union of wills and intellects, in love, charity."

Ibid., p. 370.

* * * * *

On completing your study of Part III it is suggested, for your own use, that you rethink the lives of the top-level Communists you are seeking to develop as informants, and try to determine whether or not it is possible to fit them into any of

the personality patterns delineated here. If you can do this it is further suggested that you endeavor to reproduce for your top-level Communists those forces, events and ideas which caused the persons described in Part III to doubt the validity of Communism and induced them to finally reject it completely. Of course, some elements of their very nature cannot be reproduced but others can be (a few years of living in Soviet Russia might help to convert them as it has others; however, the reproduction of this experience is beyond us, at this time). The best that you can hope to do is to reproduce those conditions, as realistically as possible, which will stimulate these persons into thinking in channels that other defectees have thought in and through. As we know, it will not be effective to try and force the issue or hurry it too much at the wrong psychological moment. First, fertilize the soil, so to speak, sow the seeds and wait for a time to see if they take root and grow. If they do, cultivate them and prepare for the harvest. It is a slow process. But, if you identify correctly their personality patterns and reproduce adequately the proper conditions, or forces, or events and ideas, it might prove to be the one truly fruitful approach.

PART IV

SUMMARY OF SPECIFIC FINDINGS

SUMMARY OF SPECIFIC FINDINGS

An analysis of the statements and experiences of the sixteen Communists considered in Part III of this study suggests a certain universalism underlying their behavior. It is the universalism of human obedience, rebellion, expectations, despairs, victories, defeats, achievements, failures, affirmations, denials, loves, hates, joys, sorrows, beliefs, disbelief, justices, injustices, rights, wrongs, freedoms, oppressions, abundance, want, likes and dislikes, attractions and repulsions, illusion, disillusionment, good and evil - all caught between the forces of dissatisfaction, disappointment and discontent at one end and hopes, dreams and aspirations at the other.

These men and women, born at different times, in different countries, and in different sections of the world, and growing up under different home, community, social and educational influences, nevertheless, reacted in a fundamentally similar manner to their environment. They went through a similar process in accepting Communism and a similar process in rejecting it. One sees in their experiences a common and recognizable pattern of behavior, present in the United States as it is elsewhere in the world.

This being true, there is something to be learned from them and to be applied in developing informants among Communist Party members for the Bureau.

In order to further increase their value to special agents, over and above what value is contained in Part III of this study,

there is set forth below a statistical tabulation in two parts showing the more important specific reasons which impelled the sixteen persons considered here to accept Communism and later to reject it.

This tabulation indicates those reasons which appear to be more common and effective and those less common and effective, in the making and unmaking of Communists. It will be observed that they all can be grouped under appropriate headings as delineated in Part I of this paper. Part I, being relatively comprehensive, includes a greater number of derivative reasons, however, than this limited study of sixteen Communists reflects.

As previously stated, it is hoped that this statistical tabulation may be of some assistance in studying and developing the Communists which the Bureau has designated as being possible informant material. It may serve as a tentative guide, at least, to different types of approaches which can be made to these Communists and to ideas which should be stressed and to other ideas which need not be.

THE FREQUENCY OF THE REOCCURRENCE OF SIMILAR FORCES, EVENTS

AND IDEAS IN THE MAKING OF A COMMUNIST

1. Six of the sixteen persons studied indicate that one of their motivating factors was a restless dissatisfaction with what is, --with the social, economic and political status quo--and the desire to

try something new, unique and unconventional and adventuresome.

2. Seven of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the social atmosphere and cultural environment in which they grew up (the period of the "Pink Decade") was conducive to their drifting in the direction of Socialism and on to Communism in that it was the period of (a) societies and cults for the uncritical study of Russia and the establishing of closer relations with the USSR; (b) economic depressions; (c) political dislocations; (d) Leftist writers' congresses; (e) leftist committees for "peace"; (f) leftist experimental theatres; (g) anti-Fascist committees; (h) united front movements; (i) numberless leftist progressive clubs; and (j) a gloomy debunking of history and human achievements therein (e.g., Oswald Spengler's Decline Of The West, etc.)
3. One of the sixteen persons studied indicates a strong bias against the concept and existence of the state or government per se, contributed to him giving a favorable reception to Communism which advocates, ultimately, a stateless society.
4. Three out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the Communist stress on action, and the ceaseless action they experienced upon entering the Communist movement was for them a motivating factor.
5. Four out of the sixteen persons studied confessed to experiencing feelings of guilt which served as motivation, culminating in their acceptance of Communism.
6. Five out of the sixteen persons studied indicated that they experienced a strong reaction from (a) war; (b) economic depressions; (c) attendant unemployment; and (d) political injustice, all of which tended to crystallize in a radical departure and revolt from their total social environment; that this inward rebellion made them relatively easy victims of the Communist appeals.
7. Three out of the sixteen studied indicate that their sharp and oversimplified division of society into two fixed visions; (a) the vision of "evil" capitalism of the past and the vision of a good communal society in the future, caused a psychological blindness that led them to not only ignore facts but to distrust and reject facts which conflicted with their vision of the ideal future, hence, rendering them ever more vulnerable and susceptible to the ideal of a world Communist society.
8. Eight out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that childhood and adolescent influences (e.g., insecurity, fear, unhappiness, poverty, frustration, parental attachments and revulsions, Loneliness, isolation, lack of religion, discrimination, broken homes, etc.) served to motivate them in the direction of Communism.

9. Seven out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that certain types of neuroses or complexes experienced (e.g., obsessional craving for a Utopia, oversensitivity to social injustices, inferiority complex, persecution complex, etc.) tended to drive them toward Communism.

10. Twelve out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that social inequities, inadequacies, inequalities and contradictions, either experienced directly or made known to them indirectly, coupled with an impulse to protest and an ardent desire to eradicate them and to improve society, were material factors in preparing their minds for the acceptance of Communism.

11. Four out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that psychologically and philosophically they were "ripe" for Communist plucking; that they were approached precisely at that time when they needed, emotionally and intellectually, what they believed Communism had to give them, hence, this was a decisive motivating factor in these instances.

12. Two out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that they were personally maladjusted to their environment, hence, they projected their own personal maladjustment onto society as a whole.

13. Eight out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that actual economic want, either experienced by them personally or the economic want of others witnessed by them, became a motivating factor in their acceptance of Communism.

14. Ten out of the sixteen persons studied first conceived Soviet Russia as being (a) a colossal, new, novel, pioneering social experiment holding forth great expectations for the future; (b) the only real "Fatherland" of workers and "Progressives" all over the world; and (c) the spearhead of world brotherhood, peace, justice, plenty for all, therefore, it became a very potent factor motivating them even further along the road of Communism.

15. Four out of the sixteen persons studied felt that Communism gave them a chance to share personally in the building of a new and better world, and this sense of sharing became a factor in their full acceptance of Communism.

16. Eight out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that formal and informal educational influences affecting their ideas contributed to turning them toward Communism.

17. Three out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that a rather pronounced bias against nationalism and an even stronger bias in

favor of internationalism, served to create in them a receptive ear for Communist internationalism.

18. Five out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the physical existence of Fascism-Nazism contributed to either their support of or their full acceptance of Communism.
19. One out of the sixteen persons studied indicates that the need to accept a leader and the leadership principle, was a factor in his acceptance of Communism.
20. Four out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that a sense of loneliness, isolation and unhappiness contributed to their accepting Communism.
21. Seven out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that racial, nationality and color discrimination and prejudice (either directly experienced or of concern to them because of their sympathy with those who do so suffer) was a motivating factor in their support of or acceptance of Communism.
22. One out of the sixteen persons studied indicates that scientific considerations became a factor in her acceptance of Communism.
23. Six out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that a lack of moral principles was a definite factor in motivating them in the direction of Communism. (Some linked this to a general dis-integration of morals as manifested in the "pre-1914 pattern of life.")
24. Two out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the breakdown and rejecting of a comprehensive philosophy of life, once held by them, led to their accepting the philosophic synthesis of Communism.
25. Two out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that unfair treatment given organized and unorganized labor by both the employer and government, served as a motivating factor for accepting Communism.
26. One out of the sixteen studied indicates that a peculiar type of pride made the consequences of being a Communist in a non-Communist nation preferable to being treated contemptuously by the prevailing regime, hence, this pride became a motivating factor in his acceptance of Communism.
27. Five out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that they felt a definite desire to serve a great cause; to dedicate their whole lives to this cause; to make sacrifices for it and to be conscious

of fulfilling a real purpose in life as a result of this idealistic identification.

28. Eleven out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that either the absence of, or the loss of religious faith which gives meaning, significance and direction to life, plus an intelligible explanation of its origin, purpose and destiny, was a strong motivating factor turning them in the direction of Communism.

THE FREQUENCY OF THE REOCCURRENCE OF SIMILAR FORCES;

EVENTS AND IDEAS IN THE UNMAKING OF A COMMUNIST

1. Eight out of the sixteen persons studied indicate (a) that the Communist substitution of relative truth for absolute truth; (b) its insistence upon the "necessary lie"; (c) its systematic use of deception; and (d) the employment of expediency as the foundation of its operational policy, became a strong motivating factor in causing them to reject Communism.
2. Two out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the degeneration of the Communist International into intrigue, political chicanery and bureaucratic tyranny, was a contributing factor in their rejection of Communism.
3. One out of the sixteen persons studied indicates that the Communist interpretation of creative literature as a myth, fabricated by bourgeois literary figures for the purpose of serving the interests of the ruling class, was for him, a motivating factor in rejecting Communism.
4. Six out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the growing conviction that Soviet Russia under Joseph Stalin, instead of being a force for unity, peace, justice and progress in the world as they once thought, is actually a force for disunity, war, injustice and retrogression, therefore, this new conviction became a powerful motivating factor in their rejecting Communism.
5. Two out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the Communist practice of placing men of very mediocre talent in high official positions simply because they are blindly obedient to the Party Line, and the ignoring of men of great talent, who were not so submissive, docile and blindly obedient, was for them a motivating factor in their rejection of Communism.

6. Three out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the Communist practice of reconditioning of one's thinking (e.g., a form of thought control), vocabulary, literary, musical and artistic tastes, became a motivating factor in their rejection of Communism.
7. Five out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that fear (e.g., "Off with his head" attitude, fear of torture, humiliation, character assassination or of "the more unpleasant forms of dying") generated by Communist Party policy and modus operandi and either directly experienced or witnessed in others, was a motivating factor in their rejection of Communism.
8. One out of the sixteen persons studied indicates that repetitiveness of Communist thought, word and action, stereotyped dialectical reasoning, grotesque contradictions and general philosophical tedium and dullness, together constituted a motivating factor in his rejecting Communism.
9. Five out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the penetrating and soul-shaking pity which they experienced for the oppressed, exploited, impoverished and intimidated in Communist nations was an important motivating factor leading to their rejection of Communism.
10. Six out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that their growing conviction that man is not a mere fortuitous digit having value only when linked to a series of similar digits; that he is not to be treated as a transitory unit in arithmetic, a tool to be used and discarded; that he does have inherent dignity, worth and preciousness in his own right as an individual, together served as a motivating factor in their rejection of Communism.
11. Five out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that their disbelief in the Communist assumption that morality is relative and is a simple function of social utility to be subordinated to the ends of the proletarian revolution, was a motivating factor leading to their rejection of Communism.
12. One out of the sixteen persons studied indicates that his belief that Communism is responsible for the development of Fascism was a motivating factor in his rejection of Communism. (Seven others equated Communism with Fascism relative to tactics, violation of the rights of man and suppression of freedom, etc.)
13. Five out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that their inability or conscious refusal to adjust to Communist discipline was a motivating factor in their rejection of Communism.

14. Three out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that their conviction of the unreasonableness of the Communist assumption that the Communist State will eventually "wither away" voluntarily, and that the dialectics of history will produce a classless society, was a motivating factor leading to their rejection of Communism.
15. Two out of the sixteen studied indicate that the tremendous centralized power controlled but by a few people, and unavoidable under Communist organizational structure, is highly undesirable and became for them a motivating factor culminating in their rejection of Communism.
16. Two out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that humanity is far too complex and cannot be and ought not be reduced to any Communist common denominator or mold as Communists insist on trying to do; hence, this conviction became for them a motivating factor leading to the rejection of Communism.
17. One out of the sixteen persons studied indicates that the "conspiratorial vigilance" and "mutual distrust" required of a Communist (especially one in the underground apparatus) frustrated him and became a motivating factor leading to his rejection of Communism.
18. One out of the sixteen persons studied indicates that the intolerant and atrocious attitude and behavior of the Communists as manifested toward liberals, socialists, anarchists and syndicalists (the Communists tried to destroy their power and influence) during the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, was a motivating factor leading to his rejection of Communism.
19. Seven out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that their strongly held conviction that both Communist thought and practices are essentially immoral was a motivating factor leading to their rejection of Communism.
20. One out of the sixteen persons studied indicates that his firm belief that very large numbers of Communists actually do not know (a) what Communism is; (b) what kind of Communist activities are really carried on; and (c) what conditions prevail in Communist nations, served as a motivating factor causing him to reject Communism.
21. Two out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the establishment of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939 was a motivating factor leading to their complete rejection of Communism.

22. One out of the sixteen persons studied indicates that the genuine dangers to society emanating from science being wholly controlled and used by a ruthless, unethical totalitarian nation or nations, was a motivating factor leading to his rejection of Communism.
23. Four out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the anti-organized labor practices carried on in all Communist nations, and the disruptive tactics conducted by Communists among labor organizations in non-Communist nations, together became a motivating factor leading to their rejection of Communism.
24. Twelve out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that lack of freedom of thought, expression and action in Communist nations, together became a motivating factor leading to their rejection of Communism.
25. Three out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that they experienced within the Communist Party a certain prejudice against intellectuals and a curbing of creative literary powers; hence, this experience became a motivating factor leading to their rejection of Communism.
26. Seven out of the sixteen persons studied indicate their opposition to the Communist tenet: "the end justifies the means"; hence, this tenet became a motivating factor in their rejection of Communism (this, of course, is related to moral considerations for rejecting Communism, previously considered)
27. Two out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the failure of Communists to fulfill even their practical, short-range promises was a motivating factor in their rejection of Communism.
28. One out of the sixteen persons studied indicates that a failure of the Communist Party to solve, even locally, the racial and national minority problem was a motivating factor in his rejection of Communism.
29. Two out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that the tremendous gulf between Communist theory and practice; between the ideal and the real, in all major areas of Communism wherever it is to be found, was a motivating factor in their rejection of Communism.
30. Six out of the sixteen persons studied had visited Soviet Russia once or more and it is of some significance to observe that all six indicate that what they saw in Soviet Russia so completely exposed and refuted Communism, that these visits became a major motivating factor in their rejection of Communism. Among the things

which these six former Communists saw in Soviet Russia which they disliked intensely are:

- a. Total lack of democratic ideas and processes.
- b. Incapacity of the Russians to be tolerant, fair and impartial to each other.
- c. Widespread systematic deception grounded upon the nefarious principle of "the necessary lie."
- d. Intellectual, moral, political and economic dishonesty.
- e. Narrowness, pettiness in viewpoints.
- f. Systematic intimidation of the people.
- g. Ruthless dictatorship.
- h. Suppression of freedom of thought, speech, worship, press and action.
- i. Anti-organized labor practices.
- j. Widespread poverty and exploitation of helpless people.
- k. Grossly inadequate medical services.
- l. Unwarranted privileges and luxuries for Party members and high ranking Party officials (the latter being the "new Russian aristocracy")
- m. Sickening adulation of Joseph Stalin.
- n. Mediocrity in power.
- o. Police state structure and methods.
- p. Prostitution of science and philosophy to the wills of the political dictators.
- q. Inefficiency.
- r. "Czarism in overalls."

31. Eight out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that their discovery or rediscovery of the desirability and validity of the democratic way of life was a motivating factor leading to their complete rejection of Communism (it seems, however, that in point of time this discovery came into play after the move away from Communism had begun.)
32. Nine out of the sixteen persons studied indicate that either a discovery or a rediscovery of a faith in God was a motivating factor leading to their rejection of Communism.

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It is suggested that you apply the comments set forth at the end of Part III to the specific findings summarized here in Part IV. The contents of this last phase of the study supplements and adds, in a more specific way, to what has been presented earlier.

In addition to the above, however, a new note is introduced, that of tabulating the frequency and infrequency of the reoccurrence of certain forces, events and ideas in the making and unmaking of Communists. This may give you a clue to the strength and weakness of Communism per se, and of its appeal. It may give you a better notion as to what to stress and what not to stress in your conversations with these top-level Communists, as well as an increased familiarity with the over-all subject matter.

One more point should be kept in mind. The majority of the sixteen persons analyzed here may be classified as intellectuals. One need not conclude, therefore, that the forces, events and ideas which motivated them have no real relevancy for the

uneducated laborer-type Communist. Available evidence indicates that there is relevancy here.

For example, in the first place Communism in origin is not a mass movement, springing from the dissatisfied masses of people, such as some Communist propagandists infer. On the contrary, from the beginning it has been a minority movement springing from malcontented intellectuals. True, in different places at different times, intellectuals have been frowned upon, and even curbed in certain proletarian party circles. Despite this, one finds the origin and the development of Communism, even today, linked inseparably to the intellectual minority.

The ideas of the intellectuals seep down to the laboring masses and sooner or later are absorbed in a manner similar, one might say, to the process of osmosis. The ideas of the intellectuals become the ideas of the Communist proletarians or laborers, regardless of whether credit is given or the source admitted. The moods, whims and fancies of the intellectuals in this same field become, in time, those of the laborers.

Quite naturally these ideas in the mind of the non-intellectual take a little different form and in his mouth they change again. But, these alterations seem to be of a secondary nature. The primary content and force of the ideas

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remain essentially untouched. There is kinship; there is continuity, hence, the relevancy of the ideas set forth here by former intellectual Communists for the laboring Communist with whom you come in contact. All are human beings. All are motivated by the same or similar forces, events and ideas, even though they may be expressed differently. To return once again to the thought of Dorothy Day; there is a universality underlying all human ideas and experiences. They reach out and touch alike, the poor and the rich, the uneducated and the educated, the evil and the good, the old and the young, irrespective of race or color or geographical location.